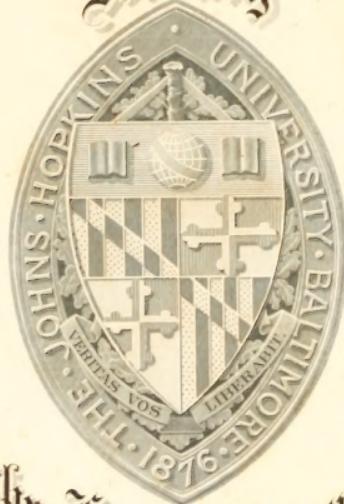


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$$\alpha \in \kappa + \kappa = \bigcup_{\beta \in \kappa} \beta + \kappa = \kappa \cdot \kappa = \kappa^2$$

$$j \in \mathbb{N} \backslash \lambda$$

18

1

Phonology
of the
Dialects of Cocky (Domme)

by
Thomas Logie

Johns Hopkins University. 1890.

Dissertation
presented for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy.

1890.

On Leaves

26 leaves

a

1-30

b

31-53

c

54-60

d

61-69

e

70-74.

f

75-83

u

100-117

all

11-19.

26 leaves out

B

119-127

r

127-131

g

132-141

F

141-143.

D

144-147

T

149-154

S

155-157

u

158-170

all

171-179

<u>L</u>	-	151 - 157
<u>R</u>		151 - 159
<u>H</u>		159 - 190
<u>C</u>	over	191 - 195
<u>G</u>	"	195 - 198
<u>C</u>	"	199 - 208
<u>G</u>	"	208 - 211
near <u>C</u>		208 - 208½
" <u>G</u>		208 - 209
<u>J</u>		209
<u>B</u> + <u>yd.</u>		209 - 210
<u>V</u> + <u>yd.</u>		211 - 211
<u>P</u> + "		211 - 212
<u>I</u> + "		212 - 213
<u>T</u> + "		213 - 218
<u>N</u> + "		215 - 217
<u>L</u> + "		218 -

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Signs used in the transcription.

linee 11

$i = i_n \in \mathbb{F}$

i = é in bébé.

ac = ai in faire, plaire.

8 - e. in a fand.

c c .. eiel.

\hat{c} is a shared midway between c and \hat{c} :

6. $\sin(2\pi x) = \sin(\pi x) \cos(\pi x) + \cos(\pi x) \sin(\pi x)$

CL. 60. 11. 1866. 1000. 1000.

! : call in here

$$O_{\mathbb{C}} \subset \mathcal{O} = h_{\mathbb{C}}$$

0 = ω_m per

W = see in date

$$u = u_{\infty} \text{ for } x > 0$$

for the better nation. Working was

Nasal vowels:

$\hat{a} = a_{\text{in plan}}$

are the main

\widehat{a} = a in humble

\widehat{e} = o in son

\widehat{i} = e in dieu

\widehat{o} = a semi-nasal sound, midway
between the pure vowel \ddot{e} , and the
nasal sound of it, \widetilde{a} .

The consonants:

b = b in balance

c' = ch in English church.

d = d in dieu

f = f in fiducie

g = g in garde.

h = h in English home.

k = c in Campagne.

l = l in l'ame.

m = m in mordre.

n = n in nappe.

ñ = gn in ll. rafago.

p = p in pire.

r = r in raf

s = c in ciel.

§ = ch in chat.

z = t in terre.

v = v in volent.

z = s in casier.

ʒ = j in jamais

Introduction

The differences which exist in the spoken language of France in different districts have been caused by two sets of influences, the one arising from a condition already existing before the Latin language was spread over the Gallic territory by the conquering Romans, and the other due to events which occurred after that language had gained a firm footing there. From the variety which exists to-day in the language of any speech district, we are justified in assuming that a like variety existed in the Celtic language of France before

the Normans arrived. Since the native language, coming in contact with a language this variegated, was necessarily influenced in one part, in a different way from the influence it felt in another part. In this way the Neo-Latin language was broken up into dialects.

With the wandering of the Germanic tribes, the second set of influences commenced. In one part, the Burgundians settled; in another, Salian Franks; and, later, came the Northmen. The dialect spoken by each of these had a different influence on the language with which it came in contact. This intensified the work of differentiation wrought by the Celts.

The common mode of classifying dialects is the geographical one, - a mode far from satisfactory, for linguistic peculiarities always overlap geographical boundaries. A more rational mode of classification is that adopted by this, - the Italian dialects, the

grouping together in one dialect group of all communities which have certain peculiarities in common. Such as each particular phenomenon would thus form a separate dialect group. Paul Meyering objects to any classification at all. He considers the popular language of France as an ensemble which it is arbitrary to divide into dialect groups. While it is true, as he states, that the linguistic peculiarities of one district do not fall into what is called the dialect of a neighbouring district, and that often there is no single characteristic which can be set down as belonging exclusively to what is known as a certain dialect, yet the sum of all the phenomena of one district compared with the sum of all the phenomena of a neighbouring district renders a dialect separation between these two districts, not arbitrary, but natural.

It is for this reason that I speak of a Picard
dialect, and of a future, if not dialect.

After the dawn of European history, the first
people found dwelling in the territory which,
afterwards, became known as Picardy, were the
Belgians, — a branch of the Celtic family. These
occupied the country between the Seine and the
Rhine, the Vosges mountains and the ocean.

With regard to the degree of mixture which
existed between this people and the Germans,
nothing is known before the wandering of
the German tribes commenced.

The Belgic tribes which Caesar found
inhabiting the territory, which, under Roman
rule, was known as Belgica Secunda,
were the Luessiones (around Laissous), the
Bellovaes (of Beauvais), the Ambiani (of Amiens
and Paitou), and the Menapii (of the
Menapians). The same tribes were conquered

during Caesar's expedition of 57 B.C., and, from that time, the work of romanising went on.

From the time of the Roman conquest to the time of the Frankish invasion, in the 5th century, large numbers of Germans were employed as mercenaries in the Roman army, and, at the close of a war, these were frequently paid off by grants of land, on which they settled as colonists. Such a Germanic colony was formed at Adua, but, of the source of the Germans who composed it, nothing is known.

After more than four centuries and a half of Roman rule, came the advance of the Teutonic hordes on Gaul, and, in the year 406, Adua and the surrounding country fell into the hands of the Suevi, Vandals and Allasses.

Meanwhile, the Franks had been gradually

encroaching upon the north eastern part of the Gallic territory, and, in the year 355, they occupied a space of 300 stadia on this side the Rhine, and had devastated the whole region for three times that distance in front of them. By the end of the fifth century, the wife of Belgica Secunda was under the Frankish power.

During the time of Charlemagne, the Saxons invaded the eastern part of France, but were promptly repelled, and do not appear to have made any settlements.

Then came the incursions of the Northmen on the north coast; their vessels sailed up the Seine, and the effect of their invasion is seen on the language.

The province of Picardy now passed into the possession of the counts of Flanders. It was taken by the English during the reigns of Philip II, and Charles II, but it

does not appear that any English settlements were made, and the occupation was wholly a military one. It was restored to the French crown in 1468, under Louis XI, and since that time has remained a part of the French dominion.

The ethnological character of the Picardie has not materially changed from that time to this. The slight changes which have taken place, have been brought about by influences from the east, and not from the west.

The name Picardie is not known before the Thirteenth century, and its origin is still in doubt. The derivation which stands at present is the Welte pie (= point), and the Germanic termination land. The name is supposed to have been applied to these people because of their use of the pie, or figue, in war, and also because they manufactured the weapon.

my investigations on the modern Picard, in this work, have been confined to the paroisses of Caenay, with a few comparisons with the other communes of the Department of the Somme. Linguistically, this Department may be divided into four districts: (a) the Bernandois, towards the Department of Nièvre; (b) the Lanterne, consisting of the plateau between the Somme and the Aure; (c) the north-east of the Department, bordering on the Wallonian; (d) the rest of the Department, which consists of the Luribnois, and the Pontlouï. The shades of difference between the paroisses of the communes of the Somme, and the paroisses of the Pontlouï, are very slight. The disturbing causes come from the east, and north-east, so it is here that the greatest differences are found. On the south, the French has made considerable encroachments, and, indeed, it has in all

parts of the department, owing to the efficiency of the schools under the present republic, and the extended trade relations with other parts.

Cacky is a village of three hundred and twenty inhabitants, about sixteen kilometers south-east of Amiens, in the arrondissement of Amiens, and in the canton of Bouviers. It is two kilometers from the nearest railway station. I was informed that it is only within the last ten years that the teacher in the village school has required the children to use the French language during school hours. This regulation appears to have no force outside the limits, for the patois is the language of the playground, and of the houses.

Concerning ethnological changes in the village during recent times, there were no traditions of migrations from other communities in the memory of the oldest

inhalation, with the exception of one occasional
inhalation.

correlations. By the way, correlation is the biunivariational
function and it has been used to
indicate the similar sound.

The Vowels.

1. Treatment of a

(a) Tonie a libre

This becomes a sound which is neither é nor ɛ, but an intermediate sound which I transcribe as ि

fraternum > frère ; clarum > clér

patrem > pér ; amatium > éme

hospitaleum > otél ; mortaleum > mortél

In order that the sound a should become ि it must have passed through the sound ɛ, for the latter stands between é and a in the vowel scale. While the French shows in this case a front wide vowel, the vowel of the patois has passed through this stage, and is on its way to the state of a front narrow vowel. Thus, although the tendency

of the French is towards frontness and narrowness, the patois goes still farther in this direction.

nasum > ni

The Latin verbs of the first conjugation change the a to i according to the regular law of the patois for this class of words.

valere > vali; manducare > mèngi
cambiare > kangi

In Crinon the same peculiarity is found, although not invariably:-

manducare > maingi (Crinon, Sat. I. 1.)

Cambiare > cangi (Crinon, Sat., V. 57)

but, perdonnare > pardonner (Crin. Sat. I. 36)

proninare > pronin'ner. (Crinon. Sat. V. 14)

In the Frano-Picard the form ending in

¹ Beyer - Französische Phonetik p. 54.

It does not occur, but the termination
-er, for verbs of the first conjugation,
alone is found:— meinger, prier,
(Franc-Picard, 1882, p. 148); contener (id. p. 187)
laissier (id. 1872. p. 203)

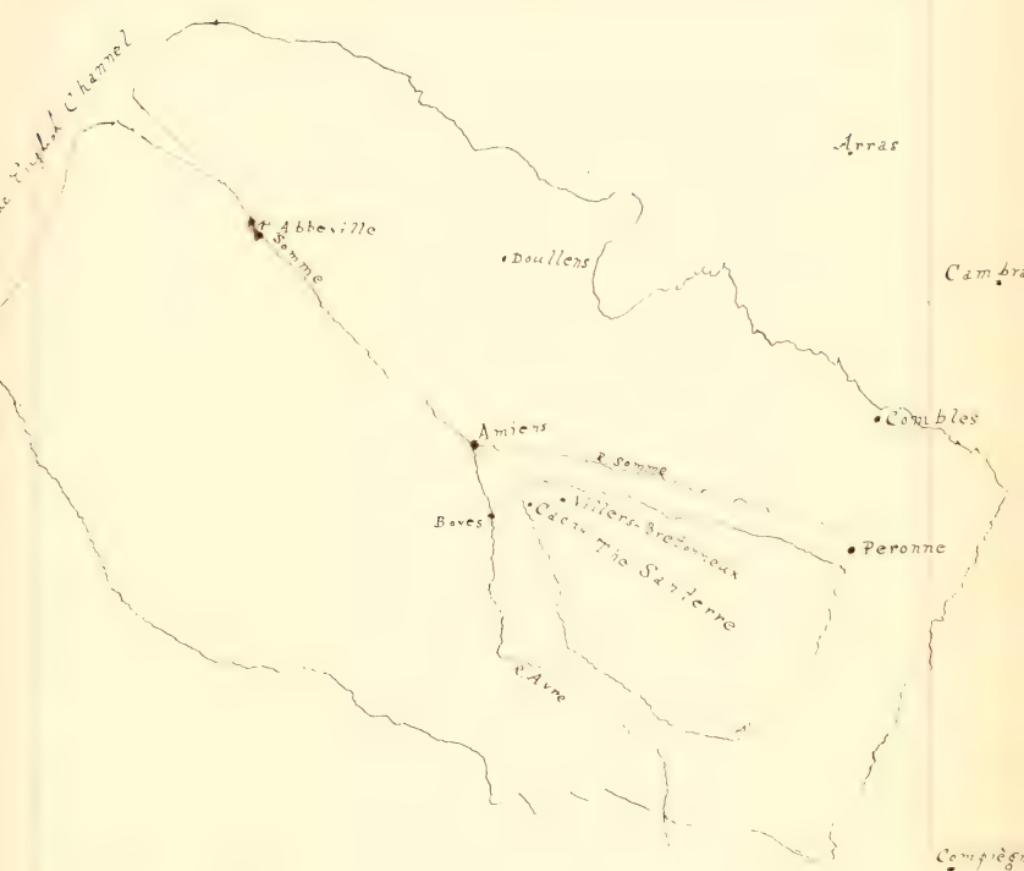
In the Bonhomme Picard, however, printed
and published like the last named work,
at Amiens, the termination -i is found:
raconti (Le Bonhomme Picard, 1887, p. 93)
quittie (id. p. 96). As the -i termination
is not used by the natives of Amiens,
the writer of these stories in the Bonhomme
must belong to a territory farther east.

In the Célèbre mariage de Jeannain et de
Brignon, it is always represented by é:—
conté (Cél. nar. de J. et P., Suite, 14)
acouguié (id. 39).

The termination -i for verbs of the
first conjugation is not found in the

selections from the different Salades given by Corbetti in his glossary, and I find no example in Li dis dou vrai Aniel, Durmaet le Galois, Li Cheraillers as deus Espeis, Aucassin et Nicolette, nor in any other early text in which there are Picard forms.

At the present time the part of the Department of the Somme in which this peculiarity is found is extremely limited. It is not found at Amiens (that is, it is not used by those native to that city) nor in any place west of it. It commences at Boves, Caenay, Villers-Bretonneux, is found in nearly the whole of the Somme, and as far south as Compiègne, and to the east in the region of Péronne, and Combles, in the direction of the Wallonian.



In the sixteenth century there was a tendency in the French itself to assimilate the forms of the first conjugation to those of the second.

"Au seizième siècle, on assimila parfois la première conjugaison à la seconde, et l'on dit : j'aimis, tu aimis, il aimât, &c. Robert Estienne dans sa Grammaire française le déclare explicitement" — Darmesteter et Hatzfeld — Le Seizième Siècle en France, p. 237.

"Solche Formen [forms of the first conjugation in -i] sind im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert auch in der Schriftsprache nicht unbekannt, und werden von den Grammatikern des 16. Jahrhunderts im Paradigma aufgenommen. Später werden sie in der geschilderten Sprache nicht

ausser Kurs gesetzt, doch haben zahlreiche
Parteien an dieser Bildung festgehalten" —
dasselbe in Gröber's Grundriss I - 617

This peculiarity is in very extensive use in the Wallonian, and particularly at Liège.

The communes of Faifre, Wihagre, Luprelle, Allier, Rocourt, Liens, Voroux, Duprey, with many others, are cited by Welmette³ as having this peculiarity for verbs ending in f + n + a e.

1. "Dans quelques localités on dit dansé" [fork, danser] - Sigart - Dictionary du wallon de Mons, § 45.
2. abréjî [pron. abréžî], abréçî [pron. abrézî], aeigî [pron. asîžî], aeoutî [pron. akuetî] - Lorin - Dictionary Liégeois-Français (s. v.)
3. Revue des Paroiss Vol 1, p 21. Chant 1.

There is thus a direct territorial connection, by way of Herbeumont and Cambles, between the Wallonian and that part of the Somme in which this ² lemmatization is found.

This connection, and the fact that it is not found on the west of Amiens, nor south-west, nor south of the Somme, and the wedge-shape of the district itself, justify the conclusion that it has spread west and south from Wallonia to Picard territory.

In the "Chartes du Vermandois" a tonic libre very often gives é.

This is not found, however, in the documents belonging to the western part.

¹ Chartes françoises du Vermandois de 1218 à 1250 par Le Poerx. Paris 1875.

of the Picard territory, (in the Pontl'is and
Aire) but only in the Normandie and
the region east and north of it. And
here this ei is only found in certain
positions: before a dental; in the
infinitive termination (*doner*. $\times \times \times \text{VII.10}$);
before a mute + r (*peires*, $\times \times \text{II.11}$);
meire III.6 ; *peires*, $\times \times \text{V.10}$); before a
labial + r; before l¹

(6) Tonie a preceded by k.

This gives the same result as in French.

canue > éje.

decanum > duje

paganum > péje

¹ Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des
albfranzösischen, hauptsächlich aus
Picardischen Urkunden von Normandie — J. Neumann.

quien (pron. épin); (Crinon Sat. II. 2)

cien (anc. et sic 10.27.71)

(c) a pretonic preceded by R

cadene > cér ; caballum > g've

caninum > kanē ; canaleu > canal

In all words of popular formation it falls; in words of learned origin, such as canal it is retained.

The fall of this sound was due to its pleonastic position; the voice passed lightly over it in its haste to reach the tonic vowel. The sound too passed through the following changes: a > é > i = the fall.

quière (pron. éere) (Crinon - Sat. IV. 28)

g'veu (id. XVI) ; g'min (id. XVI. 57)

g'reux (France-Record, 1882, p 146)

calor (aue. et. nie. - Luehrs p 29)

cermin (id. 2.5.19); caim & caim (Reclus de
Mallens - Van Haelen p 385)

(d) Picture a followed by l.

This remains as in French.

caloreuu > halo.

colour (Miserec 231.7); caut (id. 138.12);

caut (aue. et. nie. 12.3); calair (id. 27.12,

(e) a tonic entravé.

This is retained with the same sound as
in French:

ambrauu - ah ; pancheu - pie.

vaccuu > vak.

In some cases, however, it becomes o:

saccum > to ; lassum > to

cattum > to ; rattum > to

The form pau is cited¹ by Coblet, and he says² it belongs to the Bretons, but it will be shown later that it belongs as a negation also to a part of the sménais. This transformation of a to o was unknown in Picard:-

pas (Caute 57.7); (Miserere 19.3; 145.6);

pas (Caute 66.12); pas (Aniel 184)

This change of a to o is exceedingly rare in French. The example of it is fantôme.

The change is quite common, however, in the Bretonic syllable:- omaine; dommaga; fiomin.³

1. "Et pis n'eusiez pau peurdé" - Le livre de Pierre Gossen cited by Coblet - Glossaire p. 81.
Also in Breton:- Pau ein gamin eh'z'est pau ein' tehote ouvrage. (Satire xxv. 165)

2. Glossaire s.v. 3. Fr. Kunot - La Breton. Fr. I. 33.

In Early-English this change of a to o was very frequent:- lal > whale; mále > mole; dal > dole; snáw > snow; draf > drove; rad - road; lad > lode; atán - oats; wrát > wrote; sápe > soap; pápa > pope. This change was especially liable to take place before nasals - long, lamb, - and the o was so frequent in the earlier period of English as almost to supersede the a. It also took place before l - nwala - nose.

Although all the examples quoted from the English are the tonic vowel libre, yet these cases are analogous to those of the factors in which a has become o, for

¹ Sheat - Principles of English Etymology - First Series - Oxford 1887. p 54 et seqq.

² Sweet - History of English Sounds p 27 - London 1874.

it has just been shown that the change only took place in modern Picard where the vowel is libre.

The change is due to the tendency to narrow the vowel — a tendency which is strong in this patois.

7) a in Romance intone.

animam > am; imaginea > imagine
actatium > aig; lilitatium > lilitaig.

This gives the same result as in French.

arme (Ave et Nis 6.22); ane (id. 16.1)
rage (Misereee 217.10); astape (Char. de Vermand. I.9); ie tafe (id. II.6)

In some of the o.Pic. texts the termination -aig is found from -atium.

Joret¹ considers this form to be peculiar

1. Sur le C dans les Langues Romances, p. 57.

to the Lorraine and Burgundian, but it had a much wider extension. It is found in the Chartes du Vermandois: aincages (xxxvii. 22); aintaige (xxxii. 2); and in the Chartes du Pontlieu: ainage (viii. 17); ainaije (xv. 23). Yet in all these Chartes the preponderating form is -aige. The form -aige is also found by themselves in the Chartes d'Aine, and in the Chronique de Jean de Stavelot (fifteenth century) from the region of Liège, and in this latter work the form in -aige is almost the exclusive general one.

It thus appears that this latter form, besides belonging to the Lorraine and Burgundian, is found (although in the États' documents only rarely) in the

¹ Aut- und Thexonschule des Altpfälzischen h. 12,

whole of the Picard territory, as shown by the early texts.

With regard to the sound of this -aɪʃe, the forms uisaefje, usaeufje, which Förster finds in Baudouin de Sébouy, and the form damueg in the Chiev. as deus Espeis would show the pronunciation -ɛʃe: the sound ɛʃe in the present border dialects between Metz and Belfort² goes to confirm this sound for the -aɪʃe of the Lorraine and Burgundian. But from the predominance of the form -aɪʃe in the Picard, and the occasional form -aɪʃe, Neumann concludes that it probably had, in the Picard, a sound between aɪʃe & ɛʃe.

1. Förster - Chievier au deus Espeis, XXXIV

2. Hoening. - die Ostfranz. Grenzdialekte zwischen Metz und Belfort p. 18; - Seelbrunn 1887.

3. Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre des Althfran. p. 121.

(g) a entraîné après h

This remains as in French;

campum > ka .

cattum is an exception as becomes ka
(see p. 12)

canp (Aue et Né. 26.22); cat (Rec. de Moll.-
Vanhaezeb. 8.11)

(h) a + l + consonant.

allum > ö . ; allum > öt .

ente (pron. ötē) (Crinon. lat. I.5¹; I.23; I^{II}.28;
I^{II}.39) ; lau (Mar. de Jean. et Ph. 8) ; autre
(id. 48) ; autres (Aue et Né. 2.25; 8.17) ;
autre (Li des dou Vrai Quiel 103; 130; 159) ; autre
(Chev. as 11 Esp. 23) . The forms autre
and laut do not appear in Crinon's
Satires . The forms ö and ötē
are found in the patois of the
following communes of the Savoie;

and these are undoubtedly the only forms used in the whole department:

Quincieux, Maran court, Amiens, La Falaise, Doullens, Chaulnes, Yillon, Margny-les-Compiègne, Gentelles, Lontaine-sur-Orge, Villers-Bretonneux, St. Léger-les-Aubé, Terrières, Pertain, Caen.

The form appears to be quite a modern one since it is not found in any of the old texts nor even in the Carolingian Marcaige (1048), but is universal in Caen, in the France-Record, and in the Bonham Record.

The change from o to ö in these words may throw some light on the form öö of the modern Record, which in o. Rec. was uo. The change from o. Rec. autie to mod. Rec. öh is the secondary consequence of a wedding under the influence of

7^{me} Côte

* Tonnerre-en-Authie

Abbeville

R. Somme

Doullens

* Liger-les-Authie

Ferrières

Amiens

Querrieux

R. Somme

* Villers-Bretonneux

Marancourt

* Chaulnes

* Tonnerre-en-Authie

La Faloise

* Marigny-les-Comptes

The accent¹. This process of widening is
active in mod. Picard (see p. 156).

(i) a tonic + m or n.

This becomes â as in French.

francam > frânh ; mannam, manet
mâne ; plantam > plant.

In cameram the b has not been
inserted between the m & n as in French,
and there is no nasality, but it gives
simply âme.

Too many words in the patois in which
the Latin original had m or n + consonant,
the consonant has either fallen, if final,
or has become assimilated to the
nasal, and, by the coalescence of the two
consonants, the nasal sound of the

¹ E. Sievers - Jenän Literaturg, 1874, Abt. 145.

vowel has given way to a pure vowel sound: - gamban > gamb > gamm > gim: (For other examples see 6)

In O.Pie., however, such consonants still existed, and the vowel had a nasal sound: ganbe (see *etn. 2.11; 12.28*)

(i) a + m or n + vowel

This occurs in all cases æ, as in French panem > pæ; de + manu > dmaæ; except where the vowel following the m or n was a, which, as a final, became ɛ, and in this case there is no nasal sound developed, but the a before the nasal becomes ɛ: - granae > gren; pinnam > plen.

In the O.Pie. texts this is always represented by ai: - pain (see *etn. 2.32; 4.13*); lemanai (*id. 16.13.18*); plaine (*id. 26.22*);

plaine (Canit. 37.7); l'endemain (Ch. du Verne. XXX VIII. 38).

In œ and œ é in this position is also transmuted by ai: paine (16.22); plaine (20.12); sain (13.20), showing that at this time (beginning of the Thirteenth century) the nasal developed from é and the nasal developed from ä had the same sound in Picard.

(k) a tonic followed by t.

facere > facté; factum > facté;
jam + magi > zamue.

In all the modern Picard texts the same form

¹ "In n'zouma pas founaire errien" - Cunon - Sat. I. 28.

"founire en mouoay moainagé" - Mar. de jet P. 33.

"Vôlan founér le neuch éd sin fiü" - Evan. selon St. Halt. 22.2

"Eh bien, famonais," - Frane-Picard, 1882. p. 145.

is found.

At parasitic i was developed before the é. After the fall of the é, this i continued with the a, and produced the diphthong é which, in the patois, has been treated as the é of sapere &c., and has thus been diphthongized to ué.

In the aniel we find the rhymes faire: faire (97); fait: trait (id 129); In ue et mie faire: uire (3.14); Cardeé: faire; plaire: faire (1.4.12). In ue et mie the form face is also found. This change of ai to a is frequent in Ricard, Wallonian, and Lorraine texts².

* placées gives, in the patois, place.

¹ For the development of this diphthong see treatment of étauie libre p. 53

² Suchier - ue et mie. p 65.

a form which has been adopted from the French.

(b) a tonie preceded by je:

carum > cer.; scalam > écel,
cercare > cer^{er}i; diccare > des^{er}ir
cambiare > cang^{er}i; irrabiare > arazi
purgare > purg^{er}i.

This becomes é as in French, except in words from the first Latin conjugation in which the a becomes i, according to the regular rule for this class of words.

cier (Aue. et Nic. 9.5:14); ergcier (id. 26:17)
cangier (Hus. 165:6), purgier (Can. 193:8).
In B. Nic. a parasite is now regularly developed after the initial according to the Bartels-Blessinga Law. This ie

¹ See treatment of a tonie libre, p. 24

was reduced to e towards the end of the thirteenth century, and in modern parlance this termination has become ² ?

(m) a post-tonic falls as in French.

terram > Ter; stelam > stuel;

floriane > fluer; portam > port

This a first became e and the fall of this e had already commenced at the beginning of the twelfth century³, and it had entirely disappeared before the time of the monuments which are distinctively Picard.

(n) Protonic a not preceded by h., remains

¹ Schwan - Grammatik p. 77.

² See p. 2.

³ Siehier - Reinprecht I. xxxix.

as in French.

adorare > adori; appropriare > apréi.
lubere > avisé

(o) Nebentonie a remains as in French.

adoratum > adoré; parabolatum >
parlé;

(o) Nebentonie a entraillé before a nasal becomes ɛ :- manducatum > ménégé.

commandamentum > kméndmē.

maine (pron. ménégé; Chinon. L. 1).

In this position a and ɛ give the same result; but in the thirteenth century an+const. did not rhyme with en+consonant in the dialects of Sauveterre, Vermandais, Ponthieu and Brittany²; although in the same period they

¹ See e+nasal+const p. 59. ² Haase - Verhältnis der Schriftschriften und wallonischen Dialektmäler, &c. §. 108f. seqq.

pare a like result in the dialect of the
Île de France and of Lorraine. du, et
rie. There are a few words in which ē is
found for ā : - asognentee (6.21); center (12.6);
enfent (28.18); mangoient (18.10); but ē and
ā are generally separated in this work.
Rare cases of the mixing of ā & ē are
also found in the Recles de Mallemé : -
manfieit (11.8, 15.8) beside manfie (i. 66.12)

The termination -arium.

panarium > peni; rosarium > rospi;
pebrarium > peuri; lunarium >
prempji. The termination is for this
class of words is also found by Horning
for the dialects between Metz and Belfort,³

¹ duclier - acc., et rie. p 64. ² Id. p 64.

³ Die ostfran. Grenzdialekte zwis. Belfort. p. 13.

but there he finds the termination with a monosyllabic form. In the dialect of Liège also the monosyllabic termination m-i is found e.g. fèrèr'.

All the Romance forms, with the exception of the Rumanian, and the Italian, point to a form -erium as the original termination in this class of words. The explanation of Sieboldt is, that the form -eriuon arose out of -arium, by the influence of the i on the preceding a; but Gröber³ says there was a change of termination from -arium to -erium through association with other forms ending in -erium. But, however, the change from -arium to erium may have taken place, none of the forms existing in any of the

¹ Fouir - dictionnaire Liégeois-Français s.v.

French dialects, with the exception of a part of the Auvergne¹ (which has er or er) can be explained except by taking -erium as a base. Taking this form as the original, the development in the dialects is as follows: The i is attracted to the tonic syllable giving ei; the e diphthongises giving ie. Then by the fall of the medial vowel ii. In perie one i is united with the e to form é.

1. Paul Meyer - Romania III. 434.

Treatment of é.

(a) Tonie é libre.

estraue > épier ; éene > éfe ;

éené > éfe ; rem > réfe. The é diphthongises to éf, and before a final nasal produces éf. This is a rising diphthong in the patois, although it is supposed to have been originally a falling one¹. It was already a rising one in the Picard of the Thirteenth century. This change from falling to rising took place first in the Franco-Normans².

In the Picard tonie é libre generally gave ie : pies (Ch. du Vern, XXXII, 11); bien (id. I, 13) rien (id. VII, 12); truit (id. VI, 60), but cases are

¹. Huet - Romanica II - 323.

². Neumann - Laub- und Flexionslehre im alfran. p. 54 et seq.

Neumann (id.) p. 54,

found in O.Pie. where this é has been reduced to i through progressive assimilation of the e to the i :- entire (Phil. Mon. V. 8083); abaisser (Chv. as II Esp. 95-24); vincent (Baud, Leb. 1803). This process was also common to the Languedoc and Lorraine.

This assimilation has taken place in the potais in gē. when used in connection with the conjunction É (Fr. et), when it becomes gē.

(6) tonie é entravé remains é as in French
perdere > perd; terrene > ter;
infernum > infer; testane > test;
secōne > secō.

This is also the usual result in O.Pie. Lex/5:-
terre (ch. du Verbm. I. 12); fenestres (id. xxiv. 4); prestres (id. V. 7); terre (aue et Né. 2. 6. 20); perdre (id. 4. 6)

¹ Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altpf. p. 57.

but œ diphthongised to ie is also found:—
tierre (aniel. 31, 40), and in other cases cited
in Table¹. But this ie formed assonance
with ɛ². This œ is peculiar to the Flemish
and the Wallonian³. It is rare at St. Omer, and
is not found at Arras, St. Quentin, & Maizières;
but it is the common form at Lire, Lille,
Douai, Cambrai, Avesnes, Maubeuge, Namur,
Liège, and in the region of Valenciennes and
Hons⁴. It was found in Latais in the
Fifteenth, but is not consistently carried
out in the Text⁵. In Lire & Nie there is
only one example⁶ of it (estre 10, 40;
beside estre 2, 27).

The diphthongised form is not found in
any part of the Loumme at present.

¹ Tobler - Aniel p. xxiv. ² Id. p. xxiv. ³ Suchier in Gröber's
Grundriss I p. 602. ⁴ Id. p. 602 ⁵ Suchier - Ave et Nie p. 64

(c) Since \mathring{e} followed by a final nasal, becomes $\mathring{\mathfrak{e}}$ as in French.

mit > vje; benē > bjē¹; renā > ryē.

Before a nasal \mathring{e} is found in assonance with \mathring{e} in the earliest French texts². The nasal deepened the sound of the vowel \mathring{e} in such a way that it became $\mathring{\mathfrak{e}}$.

(d) Since \mathring{e} followed by g or gsl.

medium > mōd; lectum > lōd;

pretium > prōd; ebrium > iv

when final it becomes $\mathring{\mathfrak{e}}$; when not final it becomes \mathring{e} . In all the modern Picard texts which I have examined

¹ See note on preceding page. ² Schwaen-Erasmus p. 80

³ Such as in Gröber's Grundriss I. p. 576.

⁴ In the litanies of Crapon; the Frano-Picard; the Nonconformist Picard; Évangile selon St. Matthieu &c &c.

it is in all cases transcribed by i; so also in all the o.Pie. texts :- lit (Aue et al. 6.2), prix (Mls. 78.8), mi (Mls. 108.3).

The sound developed as follows :- A parasitic i was developed after the ɛ; the ɛ diphthongised to ie, thus giving iei, and by the fall of the medial vowel ii, and, by the coalescence of the two i's, it became ɛ. The history, territory &c of the sound œ is treated elsewhere¹.

(e) Tonic ɛ preceded by god. A parasitic i is developed after the god, joining il as in French:- celum (cl. Lat. caelum) → ciel.

(f) Tonic ɛ followed by a labial:

¹ See p 4

febrene > fjöve; levo > föve¹.

The form in ofic. was lieve (anc et niv 8.5); and so also in all the modern Picard texts: - lieure (Cé. Mar. - Suite 53); liève (Cimon-Sat. II.43), except the Evangile selon St. Mathieu where it is leuv (2.1).

The tonic e libre is diphthongised to ie according to the regular law, and a parasitic u has developed in the modern patois, which has combined with the e to form the sound ö. This u is not found in the transcription of the Célibre mariage, but owing to the inaccurate transcription, it is not sufficient to prove that the u sound had not developed at that time - 1648. The fall of the f in föve is due to the influence of the first and second persons - plural.

¹ See p. 175

(g) ɛ + r + consonant: -

mercantem > marſā; perdonare > pardonī. This change took place under the influence of the vowel ɛ. Owing to the difficulty of pronouncing ɛ, a front vowel, and the vowel r in the same combination, the sound ɛ was changed to the sound ā which is nearer the r physiologically. This change had already taken place in the twelfth century, and is found in all the old texts: - marcant (Auc. et hic, 28.15); marcant (Car. 187.3); sardoner (Mis. 268.10). This reactive influence of the vowel r has been greatly extended in the modern patois of Caen¹

(h) ɛ + tchaine + nasal + consonant,

¹ Delwane - Grammatik p. 32. ² See trin. p. - univ. p.

31

This becomes ē :- sensatum > pensé;
intenditum > intendot;¹ So also in
O.Pie.: - pensée (Mis. 1157.8); entendans (Car. 207.12)

(i) ouie + nasal + consonant: - This also gives ē.
ventum > vê; prendere > prê;
exemplum > éxemp. So also in O.Pie.
prendre (Mis. 52.5); rent (Car. 130.5); argent
(Ariol 60); gent (Ariol 59); froument (Ch. du
Perre. XXII.43).

According to Paul Meijer,² en + const. = an +
const. for the beginning of the thirteenth
century. In the Picard monuments examined
by Haase² Le finds that, in the Beauvoisis,
the endings ant and ent rhyme together,

1. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris I. 244.

2. Verhältnis der pikardischen und wallonischen
Denkmäler des Mittelalters in Bezug auf a und e vor
gedehlt in m. p. 10 et seqq.

but that in the patois of the present day they are separated. In the thirteenth century, in the Vermandois, in the dialects of Amiens, Pontl'ev, Arras and Lille, these do not rhyme together, and in Cambrai they sometimes rhyme and sometimes do not. In the patois of Caen, and in the whole of the department of the Somme ant and ent are separated, except when petante² where ant passes to the sound of et.

In the Amiel en + const. is found once in rhyme with an + const.

(g) post-tonic e falls as in French.
venir > venir; patrone > pér;
essere > et; camera > cam.

¹ Haase - op. cit. p 10 et seqq.

² See treatment of a + nasal + const. p 27

The fall of this ɛ took place before the time of the earliest French monuments.

(x) Bretonic ɛ falls.

levare > levi; retinare > rtiri;
venire > vniir; teneare > tnie;
geniculum > gnu.

The fall of this ɛ is due to the light passage of the voice on to the tonic accent. The preponderance of the tonic syllable led to a gradual weakening of the vowels preceding it, and in this case that vowel ~~got~~ entirely disappeared. It passed through the following stages: - ɛ > ɔ > ö whispered ɛ. Then fell.²
This ɛ is written in all the old texts, and as late as the Célebre mariage (648) it is found: - esp- appellé (suite 66); vené (id. 112).

¹ Beyer - Französische Phonetik p 23. ² Soc. Ctr.

in the modern Picard texts it is never written:
étiè (Evang. 5. St Matt. 2.14); vniè (id. 3.11);
évan (id. 2.2); g'noüx (Cinon. 2.44); r' marquer
(Le Bonhomme p. 1882. p 87)

(ii) The termination -éllum becomes jo.

cuctellum > rutjo; mantellum > märtjo;
castellum > käťjo; bellum > bjo;
mantellum > mäntjo; morellum >
morsjo; fardellum > färdjo; agnellum
ärjo.

It gives the same result in all parts
of the Department of the Somme, and this
form is the only one found in the modern
texts belonging to that territory: -

bayen (Cinon Sat. IV. 43); capieu (id. III. 35);
cavieux (id. V. 64); mantieu (Evan. selon St Matt.
§. 40); morsieu (id. 7.11); nouieu (9.17);
égnieu (21.5.); polieu (Tristesse in Corbliot's Gloss p 43)

bier (id. p. 43); bier (Franco-picard 1887, p. 149)

nouveau (Le Montaumur sic 1852, p. 58)

In the Célebre mariage it has two forms ian, and ean. In Picard texts older than this ian is the usual¹ and almost universal form: - damaisiāx (anc. et mod. 5, 17); caviāx (id. 13, 15); bīax (id. 15, 4); bīans (Aniel 120); pastārials (Ch. as II Esp. 105-14); bīans (id. 97); bīans (Guy de Raub. 3, 28); damaisiāx (id. 29, 11); martiāx (id. 2, 23); foreliāx (35, 16)

This development of the Picard to ian (ians) separates the O. Pic. from the other French dialects² which had els, eals, eans, eax de

¹ die pikardischen Texte haben alle ians - Forstler, in Zeits. f. R. Ph. I. 565.

² Besondere Erwähnung verdient hier noch die Behandlung der romanischen Gruppen -ill + eans, and -ell + eans, beide = Fr. El + eans, durch

The explanation of the O. Fr. form in -iāu offers little difficulty, and Förster¹ gives the following development, of the correctness of

deren tatsächliche Entwicklung sieht das Picardische von den übrigen Dialekten abhängt. El + const. tritt nämlich, wenn auch nicht unbedingt, so doch am häufigsten in Picardischen unter der Form iāus auf gegenüber den els, eals, eaus, eax &c., den übrigen afr. Dialekten. Letztere kommen, jedoch, bescheiden neben iāus in Pic. vor:—
iāus (Ch. du Verne. IV. 7; VI. 5; 8; X. 13; XIV. 4; XVII. 9);
entriāus (id. XXVI. 6); gāus (id. XXXIII. 11); eāus (id. V. 29. 64); eās (id. XXII. 27) — Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre des altfranz. o. a.

¹ Zeits. f. R. Ph. I. 564

which there can be little doubt : - beals >
beals > beals > bœu(s); beals > bœus was
a later development from beals.

But the development of the modern form
bœu (pron. bœjö) offers greater difficulty.

Förster's wished to derive it from a form
beals which gave, by the vocalization of the
l, bœu(s) (pron. bœjö); but although the form

Das Pk. bœu lässt eine doppelte Erklärung
zu : entweder mit wallonischem Diphthongismus
beals (und vocalisiert bœus) und durch Einfluss
des l daraus bœus und mit vocalisierten l
endlich bœus; diese Form gab dem Leitigen
Pk. bœu, jenes den bœu seiner Ursprung.
Diese Entwicklung möchte ich aber gern auf das
wallonische beschränken; für den übrigen Theil des
Pk. möchte ich das Pk. -ians aus vorausgehenden els
> als > als erklären" - Förster - Seite f. R. Ph. I. 384.

iel exists in the spic. texts, the form iel's has not been found. But a form iel's is not absolutely necessary, since it may be explained through Neumann's principle of Satzphonetik as follows: - The form of the accus. sing., iel, vocalized the l before a consonant, giving ien (pro. ijö), but retained the l before a vowel.

The French dialects surrounding the Picard offer no help (with the exception of the Wallonien) for the solution of this difficulty, since, in the eastern dialects, the l falls, and the same takes place in the Norman with the exception of the territory bordering on the Picard, and which has been influenced by the latter.

¹ Dr. Matzke - Modern Lang. Notes 1889. No 1. p 16.

² Dr Matzke - Soc. Ckab.

There are a few words in the patois of Caen in which the termination - ellum has received a different treatment:

tinellum = tin; flagellum > fléji;

monticellum > monti, rastellum > rati.

Two of these words are cited by Jouaucoix from the O. Fr. with the termination el:- flaïel, tinel. In O. Fr. tinellum developed in the same way as other words with the termination - ellum, viz. to iae:- claius (Car. 213.3).

The other words cited above, I have been unable to find in any O. Fr. text.

The form fléji, must, therefore, be a later introduction, and probably came from those dialects² in which the l fell, giving

1.

"Qui porte tinel, qui porte lache,

Qui flaïel et baston d'espines" (du Conje, flagellum) -

Jouaucoix - Glossaire S.V. flaïel.² The Eastern and Norman.

fléjé, and, was then changed, in the patois of Coxy, to fléji after the analogy of verbs of the first conjugation. I am, however, unable to cite any example of the form fléjé in the patois, - a form which is necessary for a satisfactory proof of this theory.

(m) Treatment of g + god.

lectum - loc; sectus > poc; dispectum > dépot; deem > dis; sex > six.

It becomes œ["] in words in which this becomes the final sound; dis and six are French introductions, and, before a following consonant, these are pronounced in the same way as in Greek.

In O.Pic. this always gave i, by the production of a parasitic i before the god. The diphthongisation

¹ See p 47

of e to ü, the fall of the medial vowel in the triple combination, and the coalescence of the two i's. lit (anc et mē 6.21); pis (Car. 96.5); sis (Mis. 225.7).

Melius and Deum have developed in a different way: the former has become mjü, and the latter djü.

In the O.Pic. there was considerable variation in the transcription of the termination of this class of words. Sometimes it is found as ie and sometimes as iee. Till the middle of the thirteenth century ie was the common form for this class of words but after that

¹ "Die Schreibung zwischen ie und iee schwankt durchaus; daher kann auch ein ursprüngliches iee mit ie geschrieben wird, daher lin, line, die" - Forsler - Chivalier as II Espees - XLV.

time it became ieu, but ie was still retained as an archaism in some words. The form ieu did not become, as Deucomm states², the only one, for, in addition to the two words already given, the patois of Caen retains the ending ie in the following words, although their history is a different one:-
mâladjié, besjü, truantjü, sérifjü, najü

¹ "Es ist wohl anzunehmen dass in der ersten Hälfte des 11 Jahrh. die ältere Generation der lebenden Piemonten noch ie sprach, während bei den jüngern sich die Neigung einstellte statt dessen ieu auszusprechen. Um die Mitte des Jahrh. etwa u. 1250 machten sich beide eine Fortlang in den angesuchten Weise nebeneinander liegenden Ausprägungen fest- und ausgleichen lassen, dass ieu als die einzige den Sieg davon trug" - Normanne - Laut- und Flexionslehre im altfranz. § 42. ² see § 101

This variation in the op̄s. between iu and ieu does not appear to have indicated a difference of pronunciation, for Tobler finds, in the dit de Centillee, (in Jubin's Nouv. Rec. II. 383) liez rhyming with ius'

(M) Prosthetic e.

The sound of this e varies all the way between é and ɔ according to the nature of the preceding and following consonants.² It never arises before a single consonant followed by a pure vowel, but only before a cluster of consonants, or before a single consonant followed by a nasal vowel. I did not hear this prosthetic e when single words were pronounced, but only in

¹ Tobler - Arriel XXVII.

² Owing to the want of material I am unable to give rules for the variations

connected discourse.

This prosthesis ε is found in all recent Picard texts: - Pauv^{re} q^u j'^{el} croie^{re} (Cinor Sat. I.7.); en verre ed^u bain d'^uvin (id. I.2); el^u socialisme (id. I.11.1); erguille^{re} (id. VIII.50); édp^{re} (Evan. selon St Math. 1.17); évoue (id. 2.2); édes^u (5.14); éduan (id. 5.16); éddin (id. 27.34); égu' mein (Frane-pie. 1885, p. 146); éj' t'^uirouais (id. 145); dem^{re} du forté (id. p. 146); che^{re} grou-mile (Le Bontoume pie. 1882, p. 81); pemmes^{re} ed^u leure (id. p. 82).

This peculiarity of the Picard appears to be of quite recent origin, since no example of it is found in the Céleste Mariage (1648), nor in any earlier Picard text with which I am acquainted.

This prosthesis ε is found in all the Eoileen dialects: - sain ed^u fortout j'^{el} domestique, ed^u main (dialect of Champagne¹).

¹ Tarbé - Recherches sur l'histoire du langage de Champagne p. 164

émantel (Lorraine¹).

In the Emilian dialect of north Italy there is a similar phenomenon², and also in the Engadine dialects³.

The prosthesis e arose in this case from the same cause which produced the prosthesis e before the clusters sp, st, se in all the French dialects, viz.: from the desire of separating, by a vowel sound, clusters of consonants, either difficult or impossible to pronounce. This prosthesis e, as a matter of

¹ Adain - Palais Lorrain, p. 400

² "Häufig wird ein Vokal vorgesetzten um die dadurch entstandene Käte [the hardness produced by an initial cluster of consonants] zu vermeiden, nicht in dem hier allgemeinen ar für ri, al für le, sondern z.B. ausin, rieinus" - Ovidio in Gröber's Grammatik I. 557.

³ "alg Ruig" - Mäzenkriige in Ulrichs Rhaetian Christ. E. p. 1005.

course, only arose after the fall of the é in the
pretonic syllable. Hence the reason of its
modern œ open.

Treatment of é

(a) Tonie é libre, becomes œ
lakir - avur, pluri - pluer;
tafri - siwala.

The earliest monument to show the transcription
of oi from é is the Janus Fragment; but here
it is in the pretonic syllable. In the twelfth
century this oi was pronounced éi; it then
became œl, and, at the end of the fifteenth
century, œ. This was afterwards noted by
œl, and œ'. From the sixteenth century this
œ underwent two kinds of changes: on the
one hand it went into ua, - a pronunciation

which triumphed in the French of the eighteenth century, and is the pronunciation of the present day. In the like, hand, in the tenuimelons of the imperfect indicative, and conditional, and in a few words in which unaccented e or final e followed it became é.

While the French has developed in this way, the patois of Caen has remained where the French was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has the sound which at that time was transcribed by the grammarians as œu.

The pronunciation œ is common to the whole of the department of the Orne with the exception of the north east towards the

¹ Such is in Grüber's Gramm. I. 588.

² Darmesteter and Hatzfeld - Le Seizième Siècle en France p. 211 et seqq.

Department of the Nord, in the direction of the Wallonian. At Les Hautes, near Combles we have savoir, avoir, étol, revo, dro, bois, vo, sapere, trône, Stela, reform, direction, figue, etc. In Monancourt, in the Canton of Combles, we have savoir, avoir, but rue, droit; at Chaulnes, re, dro, étol, but savoir, avoir, etc. In the patais of Liège the pronunciation is avoir, (lakere) savoir (sapere).

There is thus a border district in the region of Combles and Chaulnes, between the pure Picard, and the Wallonian, in which the pure Picard forms are found along with forms such as savoir, avoir, etc, which approximate to the Wallonian forms in re in mimes > mevaen, and stéam > sea the pure French forms have been adopted into the patais.

^{1.} Forme - dictionnaire Liégeois-Français - S.V.

Amour

Science

Amour et Science

• Les beaux
• Comptes
L'Amour et la Science

Coq

vir. (videre) is heard still in all parts of the tongue. In Paris it is the pronunciation of the old people, and vir. is that of the young, thus showing the tendency of the times to produce uniformity. It was common in Old French as well as in all the Eastern dialects to find i from closed e in an accented syllable:

vir. has developed in the following way: vedere > veder > veir > vir, then by the assimilation of the e to the i > vir, then by the coalescence of the two i's > vir.

¹ "Das langsame e in behaarter Silbe entsteht altsfr. i in eglise (VII.15); priest (XI.6). Leinen reicht in pikardischen Dialect, wie auf dem ganzen ostfranz. Sprachgebiet die dialektale Tendenz der 2 Conjug. — ère oft ir; cf. wehain (XXXIV.8); doze weair; goir" (Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre &c. p.22).

(4) Zanic. é, entravé becomes é

méttere > met-; végar > verg-;

pégrétiane > péres-; méssam > mes-.

In O. Fr. this remained é; the change from é to é began in the twelfth century, and was completed in the next century.²

(5) Pictouie é libre before a nasal falls
mnâre > mnî; démorâre > dmöri;

It too passed through the following sound-transformations before falling: - é > é > æ, then fall³. This vowel continued to be written in all Picard texts up to modern times.

¹ Schumann - Altfranz. Grammatik p. 30.

² Siehe in Enöheis Grammatik I. 586.

³ Sieper - Franz. Grammatik 1. 23.

(d) Diphthongic é before a vowel + consonant,
becomes ɛ̃.

entrâre > entrai; cum + émitare > kmēn̄t̄i;
*entendatum > entend̄d̄e, prehendere + écho >
prēnd̄re.

the é has already become ɛ̃ in the oldest
French monuments¹, although it was
originally é².

In the o.Pie. texts this é is generally transcribed
as é, but sometimes it becomes â :
asantent (ave. et me. 21, 1); sanbloit (id. 32, 19);
sanblout (3/159).

é is also the transcription in the Célibre mariage,
but in more modern texts it is ei which,
however, has the same sound as ɛ̃.
conteint're (Cunion, I. II. 31); windot (id. III. 23)

¹ Schwann - Grammatik des altfran. p 80.

² Siehe in Bröber's Grammatik, I. 576.

(c) Same é + nasal + vowel, i

plenum \rightarrow plē ; rasenam \rightarrow rueijé ;
frenum \rightarrow frē . renam \rightarrow ren ,
renam \rightarrow ren ; avenam \rightarrow aven .

This becomes ē when the nasal was followed by an original a, but when it was originally followed by any other vowel it becomes ē.

This ē from é + n + a, had still in the Célèbre mariage (1648) the nasal sound, as is shown by the following rhyme:— maisienne: neutine. (Sect. 417). Nasalisation in this case was given up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and from then the ē became a pure vowel.¹ Previous to this, this ē had in all cases the nasal sound.²

¹ Luckies in Leibler's Laundress I. 589.

² ibid. I. 576.

In the ^oPi. texts, beginning with 1150¹, ein and ain were written indifferently² to indicate this sound before a vowel + any original vowel, showing that these two combinations had, from that time the same sound.

a is also found for this ai or ei in Picard, Wallonien and Lorraine texts³.

élan (Aue et Nie. 40-38); Ch. du Verne. XV. 10; Par. 37.8;

plaine (Aue et Nie. 20.12); planne (Aue et Nie. 24.17); pleine (Ch. du Verne. XV. 11)

(+ 'éme' + god + consonant).

streictum > drui; strectum; étrui;

frigidum > frui; tectum > tui.

A parasitic i was developed before the god

¹ Suchies in Gröber's Leundries I. 582.

² Neumann-Laub und Flexionslehre im altfranz. p. 87.

³ Suchies - Aueassin et Nie. p. 65.

and combined with the e to form the diphthongue éi which developed in the same way as Latin é, till it arrived at the damped ué. This final é sound was changed to i from analogy with verbs of the first conjugation. The influence of the verbs of the first conjugation in producing this change is shown by the fact that the damped ué, or the class of words is found in the same territory which shows the termination i for verbs of the first conjugation¹. In all other parts of the domain we find, as the result of the combination set under treatment in this section, ué.

In all the O. Fr. texts it is found as oi:

estrait (Mus. 197.3); frant (Mus. 104.7); drat (Auc. & Me. 12.28).
This oi rhymed with the oi's from all other sources, from the beginning of the Thirteenth

¹ See p. 53

² See map. p. 5.

century, and the common sound at that time was é.

Where the diphthongue does not become the final sound, the change of the last element (é) to ɛ does not take place in the territory specified — neither nor.

(g) é + god + vowel.

legem > lia; regem > ria; vicem > fui; this gives the same result, and has developed in the same way, as the combination in the preceding section. Lia and ria are pure French forms which have been introduced into the patois.

(h) Tonic é preceded by god.

¹ Schwaen - Grammatik § 76; Van Hamel - Reclus de Mollien §. CXXIX.

mercedem > mersi; ceram > ceri;
placere > plegir; laeare > tegir.

This becomes i and develops in the same way as the same combination in French. A parasitic i is developed after the god. The e diphthongizes to ei thus giving iei. The medial element drops, and the two i's coalesce, giving i.

(ii) Bretonic é + god.

leccine > luégoé; decanum > deuéjé;
neccare > nuejé; pleeare > pluejé.

A parasitic i was developed before the god; this i combined with the e to form the diphthongue éi, which became oi from the time of the Gauas fragment. At the beginning of the Thirteenth century it had the sound óé, and developed in the same way as the oi from other sources².

¹ Leborum Grammaticum p. 76. ² See p. 53

(7) *retonis* is in any combination except the preceding, and before n or m + const;

lēmnāe > lēmni; merabelia > merbeli;
pīsare > pīgi; dēlūvium > dēlūž.

In O. Fr. this was a closed vowel. The change from a closed to an open sound is due to its position before the tonic accent. In this position there was a diminution of the fullness of the vowel in the body of the voice to reach the tonic accent.²

Treatment of 2

(a) Tonic 2 above.

venere > vene; auēnum; avēt;
mimicūm > Emmōē, ficūm > fig;
servīre > servīr; aprilēm > avril;
ribam > riv; nidūm > noēt.

When followed by a pronounced consonant it remains in the pataes, when it becomes

¹ Sehwanum - Exkommunikat p 30 ² Beyer - Phoniistik p 23.

final it becomes æ¹

(b) oo or ɔ in oone

willow = wil ; scripture = skrɔ: ;

millia > mil ; tristesse > trist .

It remains when followed by a pronounced consonant; when final, it becomes æ.

(c) i + m or n .

conium > km̄ ; lina > sing ;

lineum = ling , uineum = ue ; finum > fe

This becomes ɛ . ɛ as a nasal from i + nasal was unknown before the sixteenth century. It was unknown to Paley.

¹ The sound œ, from i and u, will be treated in a separate section.

See p. 117

In the first half of the sixteenth century it was still a pure vowel, but in the second half of that century, it took a sound intermediate between the pure vowel o and the nasal diphthong ö. This sound gradually opened during the seventeenth² century, and, in the eighteenth, took its present sound ɛ³.

In the Suite du Célèbre Mariage de Jeannain the rhyme éine: nequinne (548) is found, now as ai and ɛi⁴ already had, long before this, the same sound. and as each of these had also the sound ɛ, it follows that ɛ had already, in the second half of that century, (1648)

^{1.} Darmesteter et Hatzfeld - Le Siecle en France p. 214.

^{2.} Siehe in Gröber's Grundriss I. 588

^{3.} Darmesteter et Hatz - Le Siecle en France p. 214.

^{4.} See p. 61

the sound of ɛ, which it has to-day.

In this work we find the rhymes lomain:

lennin (287); leannain; enfin (259, 260).

In this work i in the combination i+nasal + vowel also has the nasal sound; -

moairinne; neine (417, 418)

mequine; moairinne (464, 470)

moairinne; oisinne (477, 478).

Nasalisation in this case was lost in the eighteenth century.¹

(d) Bretonic i remains.

liberare > livri; uiventer > uiva.,

mirare > mili.

It falls in the following cases: divinum dve; divisat > dvig; dimedium > donoe.

This is due to its Bretonic position, and to its

¹ Likewise in Frâncis's Grammatica L. S. 37.

position in a cluster of consonants which
can be pronounced when it falls¹

(C) i + gad.

iniciemus = inīmē; venētūm = venē;
dīces = dīs.

It remains when followed by a pronounced
consonant. In gad it occurs + g.

if parasitic i was absorbed into gad,
gad, and this associated with the original i,

¹ Super- Fran. Phonetik p. 23.

Treatment of $\ddot{\text{o}}$

(ii) Some of the

probare > prüfe; populum > prüfe;
solum > söл.; oculum > öл.;
novum > nioum.

This is the sound found in all the modern Record Texts: - env (Evangelie selon St. Matth. 6,1);
seup (id. 11,7); seul (id 18,14); sal (id. 28,4);
aven (France-Rie. 1881, p 208); neuf (id p 209);
aveu (Cé. Mor. 38, 63); ven (id. 1, 10); neu (14, 17). This $\ddot{\text{o}}$, according to Siehler,
was developed in the following way: -
"the original vowel was extended and
became $\ddot{\text{o}}$, then, by the deepening of the
accented element, $\ddot{\text{o}}$, out of which the
depth tongue $\underline{\text{uo}}$ was developed". This
 $\underline{\text{uo}}$ is the form found in the Eulalia and

¹ Siehler in Gröber's Grundriss I. §73.

the Leodegari. Then the ɛ was weakened to e, and the diphthong became ie, which is the most common form found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the next century forms with ee begin to appear, although the older forms are still used in the texts of this century. For example, in the Chv. as II Esp., the following forms are found: - ue, u, ae, eu, ou, e². In Picard texts of the end of the twelfth century, the usual form is ue, - the usual form of the Carde and Chavres. In the Chartes de Normandie, of the first half of the Thirteenth century, we find ue and eu written indifferently, and, at this time both these forms had the phonetic value of

¹ Such as in Guérin's Carde I. 587.

² Troches - Chv. as II Esp., xli.

ö, — the sound found at present in the
dialect of Cachy.

œuf (Ch. des Veres. x 21.5); œut (id. x 111.3);
œuve (id. 18.18). This form eu is found
also in œue, etnic, although the older forms
are also found: — œus (18.2); œul (2.3.9);
œul (14.20); œuee (4.22); œuf (10.7).

In the present dialect of Cachy œveu
gives œü, and œum > ü. "Même un
tel ou ü" (Can. Sat. VIII. 82); œu (France-Pic 1888;
§ 148). In the O Pic. these words developed
in the same way as other words with tame
or libre: — œuf (anc. etnic, 10.7; 22.17);
œus (His 36.1); œve (Car. 117.3). In these
words, after the final consonant became
mute, the e in œu followed the same rule
as the other final unaccented e's, and

¹ Neumann - Laut- und Flexionslehre in altfranz. p. 47.

dropped, leaving ü. This must have taken place before ü in either of these words passed to the state of ee in the scribes. I find no example of ee in this word vor in any Picard text of the Thirteenth century. A similar contraction to that found in these words is found in uent (Chr. as II 24f., 757d.)

(6) tor is o without remains o, as in French.

borlanc - borl coecan - oh,

mortum - mon, cordine - cor.

This was also o in o de and o always
sign ... in rhyme from o prau to o ü
entraue^{1,2}.

¹ monster - Chr. as II 24f. XLI.

² Van Haneel - Recueil de Malines CXXIV.

(C) Lame \varnothing + zad.

nocturne \rightarrow nuet; cochium; éuoet;

coquere \rightarrow éuir; noct \rightarrow nuet.

This gives oet, except where followed by a pronounced consonant when it gives ui as in French. In all the modern Picard texts, however, it is always found as ue since the daniel et does not belong to the palace of lameus, where all the modern texts at my disposal were published. This ui developed in the following way: it parasite i was developed before the zad, giving ei, the o then dephonised to u, thus giving uo, and, by the fall of the medial element, ui.

mei { Evan. selon St. Math. 2.14); kymeri (id. 3.4);

immeji (Cin. Sch. III. 43); edpnes (id. 10.53);

In the O.Pic. texts the same form is invariably

uite (Ch. du Pic. III. 9); nuet (Ave et No. 6.28)

mire (Ais. 32.7; 110.8); cuisine (id. 141.9).
In the Recueil de Mallesons, Van Daniel finds
this ué twice in rhyme with -ire, which
proves that the diphthongue was commencing
at that time to be a rising one. In the old
texts many examples of ué in rhyme with
both i and u are found; - contredit; met
(-ans, plan 342²³), unuei; marui (Fran. III
10270 A)³.

locum first Loc., locum - ȝoȝ; locum - ȝoȝ
In these words the ȝ gives the sound æ,
except in locum where the f has been produced
by the ȝ. In modern Picard texts the nasal
sound is not indicated and we find fū (Fran. R^e,

¹ Van Daniel - Recueil de Mallesons, C XXX.

² Cited by Froster - Chv. as II Esp. X-LIII.

³ Cited by Tobler - Aniel - A XXIV.

⁴ Schneemann - Franz. Grammatik par. 108.

1851, § 206; id 1888: § 148, § 161; Evang. action St.
math. 3. 1. 3; Coll. inv. 36, (l. Suite 43).

The Eulalia has face; the Frag. de Valence, les liées;
the alexus les -lee (279) and lin (110^e). In
later O. Fr. documents, two forms are found
for locum:- lee & lin. Gug. de Camb. lee
(202, 31); lin (id 276, 2). In Gug. de Camb. locum
gives lus (186, 38); lin (228, 31). locum in the
same work gives lu (293, 5); lin (68, 27).
In the Ram. de Caen, locum gives gins (62, 4);
locum & lin (87, 11). In the Chv. as in Eop
it is generally lu from locum².

¹ lin in gug. Cambrai p. 70.

² "Wo feu (locum) ankommt, so ist die pfälz. Form
lu, die sich auch meistens hier findet, 711, 5003.
ähnlich in (locum) 175, 2, 8084. Da ue in späterer
Zeit in der Aussprache mit eu zusammenfiel (bei
feu, lee, ieu) wohl ursprünglich; doch steht feu

In the Amel. the forms are ju (283); ju (32, 277).
It thus appears that the forms of the datus of
is dependent of the same at present, — ju,
ju, ju (and in some parts elsewhere specified
ju, ju, ju) are the same as those generally
found in the Picard texts of the last half of
the twelfth, and the first half of the thirteenth
century.

The explanation given of these forms by
Förster² is that they came from the originals
feuum, ioeum. Neumann develops these
forms through the principle of Salztoppergruppe.
After the fall of the u in ioeum, the u
became semi-consonantal in the hiatus
before the vowel of the following word.

ju, ju in der Sprach- und Schrift von Faur¹ —

• Förster — Chev. as II Esp. X 2.

¹ See p. 47

² Geits f. Rom. Ph. V. 591

giving jœu, the ç was then assimilated to the u, giving jueu, which was then reduced to ju, and the u lost its consonantal nature before a following consonant.¹

The main point in this theory is that he explains the transformation of the ç to u by assimilation to the following u, a process unknown in other cases in French.

(d) French ç + nasal + vowel.

bonum \rightarrow bon; luminum \rightarrow lum,
donum \rightarrow dø; comitem \rightarrow kont; bontem \rightarrow bønt,
when followed by a pronounced consonant this remains ç; when followed by a final nasal it becomes ç. In o. Pie, this became ɔ², and rhymed with ø from ø, ü + nasal³.

¹ Grts. für Rom., Ph. VIII, p. 385 et seqq.

² Leumann - Graumann p. 38; ³ id. p. 50.

The vowel took an open sound in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹. The nasal sound continued in all cases even when followed by a single pronounced consonant till the seventeenth century². Nasalisation still exists in this latter case in the *Calébre dialect*: *bonne*: *bon-nne* (dite 103.6)

Bonum gives bwæ. This was the most common form of the word in the o. P. C. Texts in bain (Anc. N. 3. 14; Ch. v. 27 esp. 595; Aniel 38, 142, 220); bains (Ch. v. 4 Esp. 7); vaine (id. 424; Aniel 43, 218); but bus (Anc. N. 11). In the documents examined by Neumann for the Laut und Flexionsstreu, he does not find the form bain, and he says it is very rare before the fourteenth century.

¹ Such as in Gröber's *Grundriss* I. 588. ² id. I. 589.

Raynaud¹ says it does not exist before that time, but Neumann² quotes several examples. This form bain is found in O. Fr. in Flor et Clancleflos, in the Liure des Metres, as well as in Picard. Dangerous tiles from a charter of Enée (Albert) of 1304: "gue bain frut saur le pouffit". In the Cé. Mor. the form is baen (108) which has, no doubt, the same pronunciation as bain (pron. bwaen). In Cunon the form is bon. In all parts of the Somme at present the pronunciation is bwaen. In the light of this, and the previous history of the word in Picard soil, the form found in Cunon is surprising and I am unable to account for it, except by anomie; it

¹ Raynaud - Étude sur le dialecte picard dans le Poitou - Bibl. de l'École des Ch., XXXVII. p3-31)

² Neumann - Land und Flexionslehre - § 44

in pure French.

(1) Laut y + nasal + consonant.

longum = ö; responsum = effens;
bonum = ad; tondere = tundit; complutum =
punkt. zī, zī, zī.

According to Diez¹, o was already a nasal vowel in the ninth century, and Sieber² thinks that all the vowels were nasalised at the same time³. The nasalisation deepened the sound of the open vowels in such a way that ö became identical with ɔ³. These two became open sounds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁴.

¹ Diez - Inauguralek I. 448.

² Sieber in Höber's Grundriss I. 876.

³ Sieber, loc. cit.

⁴ Sieber Oper. cit. p. 588.

(7) Fraternus q.

volontatum > volonté; odoreum > odor;
onoratum > onore; solere > soluer;
potere > habeo > poter; tornare > tueri;
tormentum > Turme.

This eu means q. Turme and Tueri are forms borrowed from the French. This original q continued as q till the twelfth century, but from that time it gradually became eu in the Île de France, but the latter form never became universal, and there are many words in the French of the present day which still have the q in this position. In contribution to the French, the Picard has kept the q, and never changed it to eu. There is no reason for supposing that in Picard this q became eu.

^{1.} Förster - Romainsche Studien III. 189.

and then, later, became ə. In Opie, it is always represented by ə, and never by u, as in Norman: - torner (Can. et Nie 7.1); tormente (id. 28.7); forné (id. 10.67); soldras (Can. 101.4); portoit (Arriel 5.3); forroit (id. 91)

(9) ə before u gives ö.

*poteture > phö; *moveutum > mö;
*plouetum > plö.

According to Suchier, medial ə before a following vowel, is still met with in Picard lau in the île de France¹. Yet in the patois of Bechy the feu, meu &c forms are still maintained. These forms exist in the Rec. de Malliens: - meu (Mis. 133.10); feu (Can. 10.8); but beside these, plu (Mis. 18.8). In Can. et Nie none of these post-participles occur,

¹ Can. et Nie. p. 64.

nor in the *Armel*, but in the latter we find the form œu (5); œus (118); œuvres (117).

Owing to the non-occurrence of these forms with œ before u in the old texts, it is difficult to ascertain when the œ fell, or in what part of this territory it did fall. It certainly never fell in the patois of Caen, but the early forms œu, œu, œu, were, by contraction, changed to ö, ö, ö. The French passed through a process different from this: - the early forms œu, œu, œu, changed to œu, œu, œu - this was general in the sixteenth century. These were, soon afterwards, contracted to œ, œ, œ, by the fall of the mute œ.

^{1.} *Damester et Hafifeld - Le Seiz. Liège en France p. 207.*

Treatment of $\ddot{\text{o}}$.

(a) French $\ddot{\text{o}}$ alike becomes $\ddot{\text{o}}$ as in French.

adorer > adö; Lorau > öre;

gaudiosum > gøjö; illorum > -lö;

So also in all the modern Picard words, where
it is transcribed by œ, but with the sound $\ddot{\text{o}}$.

amateux (Canon. Sat. I. 33); malheureux (id. II. 1);

Lenteur (id. II. 26); Linteu (Evan. selon St Matth. 4.3)

douleur (id. 4.24), ödier (id. 6.17); honneur (id. 16.4)

neveu (Le Bonhomme Pie, 1886, p. 93).

It gives the same result in all parts of the
Department of the Somme. So also in the
Céleste Mar.: honneur (31); malheureux (id. Sinti 53);
grandeur (id. Sinti, 148).

This $\ddot{\text{o}}$, from which $\ddot{\text{o}}$ œ is used in the
oldest French manuscripts represented by $\ddot{\text{o}}$ and
œ are rarely by œ.

¹ Lüching - Mundarten p. 156 + 161.

The oldest of these forms are, of course, o and u, and the u points to the Norman dialect influence. ou is a late form, and in the Picard ie ^o has passed into ou in the time of the Carité and Misere. In the Île de France o had already passed to the stage ou in the time of the "century". It thus appears that this ou form o survived longer in the Picard than in the Île de France, for, in these two poems, composed, according to Van Hamel, the Carité between 1180 & 1190, and the Misere four or five years later we find ou everywhere kept for o :- majour (Car. 4.9); seignour (id 11.12); labour (id 80.10). In the Ch. du Verne, of the first half of the Thirteenth century we find both forms, and also forms with o :- one (VI.18); signor (I.14).

¹ Such as in Guérin's Grammaire I. 586.

lor (x 111. 6); trouue (xx vii. 23); saur (xx. 10);
maieur (III. 21); seigneur (III. 5); reueu (v. 19);
seueur (ix. 4). The forms in ee are the most
frequent¹. In Anel, et hic, the three forms are
found: ancr (v. 2), amorans (27. 2); ancressor
(29. 12); foreeuer (16. 23); meleunox (8. 13);
marvelleus (2. 2). In the Anel (about 1291) the
usual form is ee, although e is found;
ee only appears in nous and sous. elleuer (46);
pitem (63); seigneur (204, 406); lor (23).
These forms have thus appeared as the
development of Latin ō, ū, at different times:
e, ou, ee. It appears from the foregoing,
no precise date can be given for the passage
of e to ee. In Picard the time of the passage
of ou to ee was the thirteenth century.
Although this ō was ultimately derived at

¹ Neumann - Laut und Flexionslehre in alffran p. 45

the same result as Tonie o libre, it has done so through a different series of changes.

The following appears to have been the development of Tonie o libre :- o > ö > œ > ou > eu. In the dialect of the Île de France it developed to eu in the 11th century¹ earlier than in the Picard. It did not develop to eu in the Normandie², nor in the Lorraine.

(6) Tonie o extravé, becomes u

sundum > sun; dinum > fun;
gutlame > gut; bucculam > bluk;
motnum > nu; dorsum > du.

There are certain parts of the Jaune in which o extravé remains o. This is the case on the north of Amiens in the region encompassed by the three points Villers-Bocage, Doullens, & Dieppe. Here they pronounce

¹ Such as in Gröber's Grundriss I. 586. ² Such. loc. cit.

Am. hon. scie. tofor, v.



This is the form found in the monuments of the
o.Pi. :- for (An. et nos. 23.31); tofor (id. 6.27, 249)
In this work I find no form with me. In the
Ch. du Perre, both forms are present: for (xx.10)

caunt (IT. 21), taujours (1x. 18) : tole (xiii. 5) : for (VI. 9). In the Reeles de Malle this form ous which rhymes with the ous from touic or tribuc¹. In the Aniel I find no example of o, but always ou : - taw (22); four (88); four (28). In the Cal des the usual form is ou, but forms with o are found : - toujour (slirk 83); four (id. 84); oforday (id 39); tou (12); can (2. pron 10).

The o in this class of words first passed to ou (pron u) before r and l². The passage of o to ou seems to have been completed in Picard (except in districts already indicated) by the end of the thirteenth century.³

In the modern Picard works this is always found as ou : - taujours (Canion I. 13);

¹ Van Haemel - Ree. de Malle, CXXV. ² Lehmann - Grammatik

§ 33.

³ See remark on forms in the Aniel

troup (id. III. 2); jour (Evan. selon St Math. 4.2);
bouch (id. 18.8); sauv (id. 17.14); sauv (id. 13.18).
The forms meu, pu, deu are not found in
all parts of the Somme but only in the
following district: East part of the department
south of Sains; the Lauterie, beginning on the
South-east of Amiens at Boves, Cauchy, and
Cocqie, and extending East to Rosières.
In other parts we find mo, fo, lo.

Amiens, Corbie,
Boves, Cauchy, Rosières.
Sains. The Somme.

Bézé¹ reproached the people of Berry and Lyon for saying du for de. Coming from the southern regions, undoubtedly from Lyons, this denunciation was accredited at the courts of Henry II, Charles IX, and Henry III². Father Clifet said in his grammar (1659): - "J'ay une le temps que presque toute la France estoit sceme de chausse". Pauvret³ (poor) is found in a chantier of Encre n° 1304. Examples of this change of o to u are very numerous in Chiron, both in Louis and à la mie syllables: - domestiques (Lat. I. 4); bounets (I. 10); toujurus troup tehole (I. 16); donnres (I. 21); couchous (I. II. 7); pardounee (I. II. 36); philosophe (I. 39); ouraison (I. 38); s' proum'ner (V. 10); since this change was introduced in the north

¹ Quoted by Darmesteter et Hatzfeld - Le Seiz. - Litt. en Fr. p 203

² Open Cit. p 203. ³ Jouanoux - Glossaire S.V. dom

under courtly influence, it is not strange that the dialect indicated is the place where it is still retained. Near the centre of this dialect is Corbie in which was situated, under the First Monarchy, one of the most wealthy and flourishing abbeys of France. The court pronunciation was carried to this abbey, and from it spread among the peasants living in the neighborhood.

(C) aine o + ad.

croen + ain; glorain + glair; roen + uas. The first u when followed by a pronounced consonant, when final it becomes ui.

At Chambres. Certainly, also because we shall be in the part of the Santon in which the patois of the Vannadois has penetrated, the sound ui, ue, of the patois of Caen is o.

vo, bro. This is the pronunciation given by
Corblet. In the old texts this gives
generally oi and already rhymes with oi
from tonic ɛ above, and ui from au+od,
at the end of the twelfth century²

Stengel³ says the change from oi to o
is peculiar to the East French dialects, but
Neumann⁴ has shown examples also in the
Burgundian: - memace, avor, glore.

In the forms found in the papers of Caen,
a parasite i was developed before the od, and
this uniting with the o to form the diphthongue which
developed in sound in the same way as the oi
from other sources⁵.

^{1.} Glossaire - s.v. ^{2.} Van Haelen - Recueil de Malliens CXXIX.

^{3.} Zeits für Name. Phil. I. 478.

^{4.} Neumann - Laut und Flexionslehrer in altfran. p. 53.

^{5.} See development of tonic ɛ above p.

(d) o + nasal + consonant;

profundum > profō; rotundum > rō;
ongulatum > ōng. This gives ō, which
has the same history as ō from o + nasal +
consonant¹.

In the combination o + m + n the m was
assimilated to the n, and in the seventeenth
and eighteenth centuries the nasal sound
disappeared: - colonnam > colon.

Grönman > Gāon.

(e) o + nasal + vowel.

donum > dō; monerum > mōñ;
women > no; donat > dōn; personam >
person. This produces ō when from the
combination o + nasal + any vowel except a.

In the combination o + nasal + a the a does not

¹ See p. 81

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fall but becomes mute & before which the preceding consonant is pronounced, and the o has the pure vowel sound from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries¹.

The history of this combination is the same as that given under o + nasal + vowel².

(f) Persistence o before an oral consonant.
copertain > couvert; probare > pruvi;
nodare > nui; dobitare > duté; dobare > dué.
This becomes u. In the earliest French
monuments this was was o, and at the end of
the twelfth century it was at the transition
stage between o & u. Both forms are found
in the Recueil des Maillons, although the forms in
o predominated: - douter (ou = u; Ms. 107.8);
noer (Car. 102.4); provant (Car. 97.11); esprové
(Ms. 125.1); escover (Ms. 49.17).

¹ See section on o + nasal + Consonant. p -

² See p. 81

(9) Deictic o followed by a nasal, remains o.

donare > doni; communare > commoi;
donare > doni; nominare > nomi; montare >
monti. When followed by a nasal +
consonant it becomes ö.

In the early documents the o was, in all cases,
ö, and has the same history as o + nasal
+ vowel¹.

(10) o + consonant + god.

forvian > forver, soturian > bulzö;
memoriau > memicö.

With regard to the development of this combination
there are two theories: (a) that the god was
attracted into the tonic syllable; (b) that the
god developed a parasitic i before the preceding
consonant. The objection raised to the first

¹ See p-81

Theory is that the g cannot pass over the preceding consonant. Against the second theory it may be urged that forms such as glorie, memorie are found in the twelfth century¹—at a time when the development of parasitic is in all other words was already complete. The occurrence of these forms in the twelfth century, and the vanishing forms glone, memone or in the next century seem to make the first theory the more tenable.

The forms glone, memone, are regular for the Eastern dialects, but they are also found frequently in the Opie, texts²:— memore (Ms. 82.11); glone (Ms. 82.3); memore (Ch. du Verne, X. 11; Band de Condé, 323, 1596, 368, 2871); glone (Phil. mons. 1688).

¹ Littré—dicit. Fr. s. v. ² Neumann—Laut und Flexionslehre—p 39.

³ Cited by Neumann. Oper. cit. p 40.

such forms as these are due to the influence of the Eastern dialects; and are not to be found to-day in the patois of Caen.

After the attraction of the *i* to the Tonic syllable, this ai rhymed with oi from Tonic \pm like, and ai was ai + smooth *i*, from the beginning of the thirteenth century¹, and its subsequent history is the same as that given for ai worn came \pm like².

(i) Pretonic o.

dolore \rightarrow dui; dobitare \rightarrow duti;
notire \rightarrow norir, notuus \rightarrow noris.

This has given two results in the patois, - dui the first is the retention of the old form, and the second is the later form.

norir (Acc. et N. 40, 32; 36, 11); noris (Par 61, 8)

¹ Lehwann - Grammatik p. 76

² see p. 53

norrist (Mis 109.12); douter (Car. 33.9; Mis 107.8; 62.10); doublement (Mis 53.12).

Before z the o seems to have been always retained in the Rechts de Molliers, but in the Ch. de Vermand, it is found as ou (u) in this position: - demourer (x xvi. 22); acoustume (xxii. 42); ouvrage (ii. 3). It appears to have passed first to ou (u) before a dental, as the form in o is not found in this position in the Re. de Moll.

In the presence the o sometimes falls.

com + mandare \rightarrow kmändi, com + initare \rightarrow kmänsi. No longer supported by the accent this vowel degenerated in fullness, until it took the same sound as ɛ. From the sound of ɛ it passed to that of ɔ, and then fell.² It has thus passed through the following shapes:

ɔ̄ \rightarrow ɔ̄̄ \rightarrow ɔ̄̄̄ \rightarrow ɛ̄̄̄ \rightarrow ɔ̄̄̄̄.

¹ Beyer - Phonetik p. 23

² Beyer - Oper. cit. p. 23.

Supplement to the Treatment of Tumé & Ulc.

In the patois there is a number of adjectivies which offer difficulty in the treatment of their termination. These are :-

mase. feu mas. feu.

maladü . maladüz najü . najüz
kräentü . kräentüz . pusü , pusüz.

Forms corresponding to these are found in the wallonian: mase, maladie¹ feu: maladie²
poussie², & poussieux, maladie³.

Corresponding forms are found also in O. Fr. :- antue (Mis. 27.2); Loetue (Can. 110.10;
46. 27.12; 64.3; 25.3,5); lentue (Can. 110.8;
46. 27.1). La Curie de Sainte-Palaye⁴
also gives two forms antif and
antue for the O. French, and maladeux,

¹ Torre - Lieft: Lièg-franç s.v. ² Vervesee - Lieft
du Pat. wall. s.v. ³ Ligant - Lieft. du wall. de Mons s.v.

⁴ Lieft: de l'Ancien français. s.v.

maladieu, and maladeux, Loestieu, & Loestif.
Dauhent gives maladeux, batteux, but craincte,
panseï. The form panseieux is cited
by Léthié² from the thirteenth century, and
Burgui³ gives the form Lastue.

In the modern French these forms end in
f in the mass, and v in the few.

The modern wallonian form maladieu,
and the old form maladieu (whether, old
French, old Picard, or old Wallonian, is
immaterial, as they all developed from o
in the same way) takes us back at once
to a form from the Latinization - īosum
But if this had developed in the patois of
which according to the rule for initial g.
-ibre we should have had malādjo,
whereas, it has given malādju. It has

¹ Recueil du Centenaire de la France s.v. ² Léthié:
France, s.v. ³ Grammaire de la Langue française s.v.

already been shown that, in the palets,
deum gives djü, and the change from the
old form máladjö to máladjü has probably
been brought about by a supposed
connection in the popular mind between
djü and the termination of the adjective, and
in accordance with this changed form of
the masculine, the feminine has been
changed from the old form máladjöz, to
the form máladjüz. After the analogy
of these words the other adjectives
given in the above list have undergone
a like change in the palets.

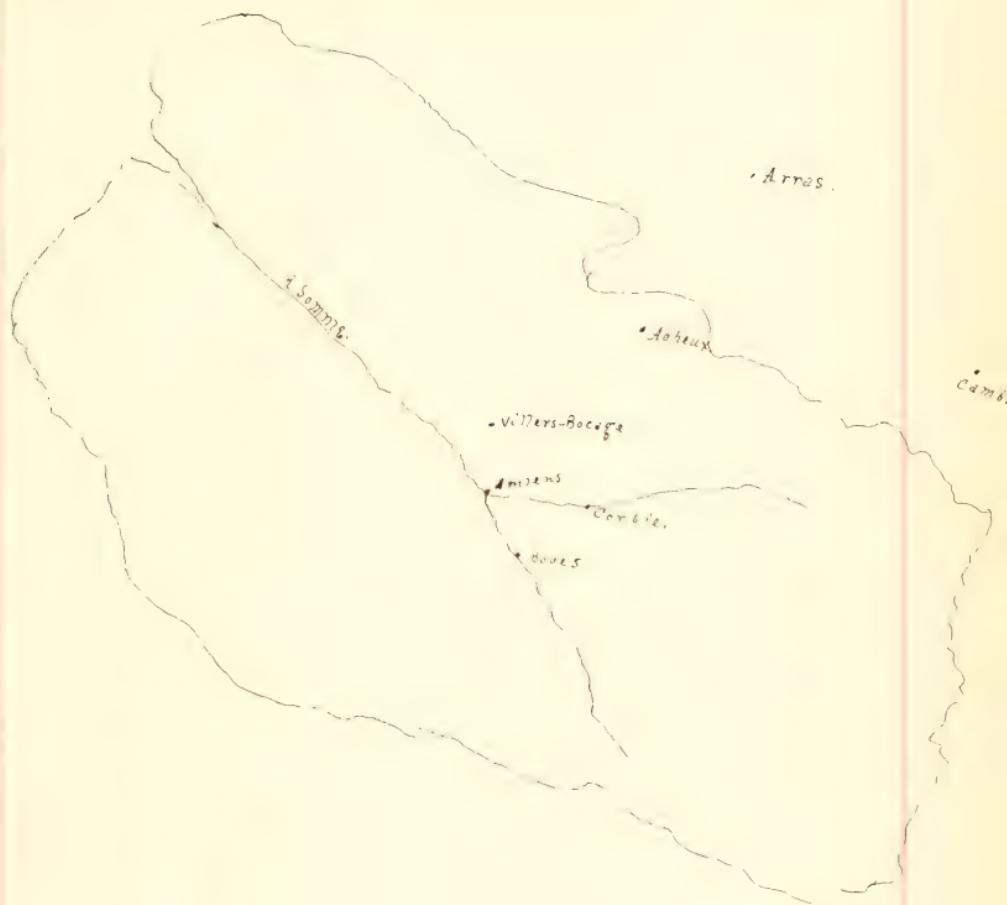
While therefore, in the French and
Wallonian, this termination has developed
from an original termination -isum,
the modern French forms in -ij (masc.),
and -ie (fem.) have developed from
an original termination -ivum for the
masc., and -iva for the fem.

Treatment of it.(a) Some it like* renditum > rēndāē; * mutum > moē;* reductum - voē; * solutum > soō;* intenditum > ēntēndāē; nudum > nō;lunam > lōn.; maturum > mōr;scenum > sōn., clunam¹ > clōn;In most participles it became at, except in
* solutum, * mutum, * lolutum, * rapatum,
where it became so, mō, plō, sō.The Picard forms of the twelfth and
thirteenth centuries were sēu, mēu, plēu,
sēu¹. These forms developed in Picard
differently from the French development.In the latter they passed from sēu to sēu.
In Picard the accent remained on the first
component, and by contraction it became so.¹ See p.

For the change of u to œ in other words
see p. 117 maturum & secundum have developed
to mör and sör in the same way as the
soft participles like sö, by the fall of the
preceding intervocalic consonant.

In some parts of the Somme, viz.: in the
Cantons of Villers-Bocage, Aclerc, and the
northern parts of Corbie and Bouvres the tonne
ü libre is diphthongised to ö. For example
they say In this district föm, (fumo); könfitö;
kültö; lön; plöm &c. Owing to the
close proximity of this district to Caen, we
find that the latter is, in the treatment of tonne
ü libre, a mixed patois, and this accounts
for such forms as föme, löne &c.

ö from tonne ü libre is not found in any
of the old texts. This diphthongisation of ü
to ö is common in the wallonian, and the
locality in which these forms are found in the



Same variants to the Wallonian at the source of
 Leu, the following forms are Wallonian:
leunn (Forir. dict. Liège-franc. s.v.); leunner (Vermeete
 dict. du Wall. s.v.); leunidre (id. s.v.); leunroette
 (id. s.v.); leunette (id. s.v.); pleune (id. s.v.);
pleunaeke (id. s.v.); pleunner (id. s.v.); pleunette
 (id. s.v.); pleume (Séjant. dict. du Wall. de Mons. s.v.).

In Ciron the forms pleme (I. 24), and
femier (I. II. 38) are found, but these are
 probably inaccurate transcriptions, as the forms
 are neither justified by the Wallonian nor by the
 facts in the neighborhood of Rionne.

(6) Same ü extrave. becomes ü, as in French.

hostum → host, nullam → null;

builam → buil

(c) Same ü + God.

fructum > früöl; conduct > höndüöl;
luct > lüöl; destructum > détrüöl.

A parasite? was developed before the goal.
This had originally the sound üi (üé).

Two examples are found in the Rec. de Moll,
in which üi rhymes with i, although in all
other cases it rhymes with üi². These two
cases show that at this time (end of the
twelfth century) üi was becoming a rising
depth tongue in French.

The rhyme üi:i is found in the Norman in
the second quarter of the twelfth century:-

ire: destruire (Bunt 13558). For the French,
the rhyme üi:i dates from the second
half of the twelfth century³.

¹ Schwanne - Grammatik § 77.

² Van Haelen - Rec. de Moll, cxxx.

³ Schwanne - Grammatik p. 77

(d) The same u, becomes ü.

surantea > shrä; justitiae > jüstid;

humane > ümæ; munire > münir.

In the district already noted, and for the reason there assigned, this becomes ö in
funare > föme, plunare > plöme;
humantea > ömän.

(e) ü + nasal + consonant, or ü + consonant +
-snat vowel except u.

defunetum > stepöt. Verodenum >
Verdöe; unum > öe. This becomes ö,
as in Ötzi etc.

In all the cases written in consonants, ü in
this position, changes with ü before an oral
consonant². The statement made by Schleier³:

1. 8106

² Schleier - Grammatik p. 81

³ In Gröber's Grundriß I §. 876.

الله
لهم
لهم
لهم

that all the vowels took the nasal sound at the same time, is incorrect so far as u is concerned. Nasal u was unknown to Paleygrave¹ (1830), and Dubois states also that in un the u had the pure vowel sound². It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that u had, in this position, the nasal sound œ³.

restitution of au

(a) Tonni au libre. because o
claudere > clon; pauperum > pon;
auum > œ, *auet > œ.

For this au, o was found in a few of the Latin inscriptions before the time of Augustus. In Catō, Varro and Festus it is

¹ Darmesteter et Halbfeld - Le Siez. Liécle en France p. 214.

² id. p. 214 ³ id. p. 214.

more common, and is nearly always found before d, t, l, r, and m or n. ie eu sometimes also passed into ü before d, t, and s². The following is the development of au to o given by Lücking³: - au > eu > oo > oo > o (= o). There was first regressive assimilation of the a to the u by which the former was changed to o; then regressive assimilation of the u to the o, in which the former was changed to o, and later to o; that this was an open o is shown by the assonance of the S. Fr., and also by the evidence of the other Romance languages e.g. the Italian⁴. In the Oaths, Euclia and Aenus this gives o, but in the Leodegar we also find au (Causa 35a).

¹ Lücking - Grundriss p. 139.

² Corssen - Aussprache des Lat. I. 660

³ Lücking - Grundriss p. 140. ⁴ id. p. 140

and so also in the *Passion*¹. In all the early texts distinctly Picard, this is found as ø and rhymes with œ².

(e) taurie œ preceded by yoit
causau > hɔ̃z; canbau > hɔ̃.

In this class of words the œ must first have passed to ø, and this ø has been treated in the same way as taurie œ libre, and diphthongised to ɔ̃. It has already been shown at how early a period this change of œ to ø took place, — a period long before the diphthongisation of original œ. In all the early Picard texts, however, this ø is still maintained: —

cases (Ch. du Poem. xxxix. 1); choses (id. vii. 22);
coze (Mis. 82.3); coze (Amel 12).

¹ Rücking - Hennelius p. 140.

² See misere. Strophe 1x.

de Crisost. this is found as o :- coze (dat. VIII.7, V.48) and so also in the Graec.-Pic. 1881, p. 207. In the Evang. selon St. math. both forms are found: koz (5.11; 5.32); koz (5.23); in the Suite de Cl. nos. coze (42). As I fail to find the form with eu (3) in my work, previous to the present generation, I am unable to show whether it has long existed in the patois alongside of the probably more frequent coze, or is of recent origin.

(C) Ionic or pretorian ae + consonant + god.

fandea > fue, fandiaum > fuejö.

*causiere > fuezir; *abaubiare > abueji.

This ae became o at an early period¹, and is found as o in the same early texts as mentioned for fauve ue, and as ae for

¹ Lücking - Mündarten p. 140. ² See p. 412

the same texts in which ou remains^{1,2}. In the early texts distinctively Picard, it is found as o. This o unites with a parasite i developed by the Yod to produce the diphthong oi, which is found in rhyme with o in the Alençis³. From the beginning of the Thirteenth century this oi is found in rhyme with oi from ou in le libre, and oi from o + parasite i⁴. This is found as oi in all the Y. Pic. texts: - Coiair (ll. 208:3); joie (ll. 131.7; oue et me. 1.14)

④ Pretonne ou.

lausare > logi; laudare > lue;
laudere > luin; audire > aur.;
ausare > ogé; alaudeflame > aluet.

¹ See § 112.

² Lücking - Mundarten § 141.

³ Schwann - Grammatik §. 76. ⁴ ib. § 76.

the force in the early French documents.
 In such in the Fragment de Valence, the Leodegar,
 and the Passion, it remained au². It is
 found with o in the old texts: - boer
 (Car. 91.11; 94.3; Mis. 88.12); axer (Mis. 9.5);
faer (Car. 218.2; Mis. 166.5); oir (Aue et Nee 1.1; 11.11)
 ... it was found in association and rhyme with
o - same value twice ³ in o. Fr., and in the
Recueil de Mallius it generally rhymes only with
o, and very rarely with o⁴. While
 pretanic o from original ö has remained o
 in the Salair, instance of from original au
 has been diphthongized to u except before e,
 where the o is kept. In its treatment of this
au the Salair has developed exactly as the
 French.

¹ Wickings - Maasdalen p. 40. ² ed. p. 143.

³ Schwane - Grammatik p. 37. ⁴ Van Hamel - Rec. de Holl. CXCVIII

In ain I find no initial a in any Picard text which I have examined. It is probably due to the agglutination of the preposition à to the verb, and has arisen through the use of such expressions as: J'è à uire re, and hence, J've aine, or is the agglutination of the third person singular present indicative of the auxiliary avoir: il a uir, and hence il a ain. From Picard texts I am unable to produce any proof in confirmation of either theory.

The final nasal sound œ̄.

This is a sound produced by only half closing the nasal passage in the pronunciation of French nasal œ̄. This sound is heard in the partis in the pronunciation of the final i and u of all past participles which in the old texts bore these terminations, and also in the pronunciation of some other words which had

¹ For similar agglutination of the prep. in French see *Broders* *Tract* I. 636.

final i or u, and which have been noted
from time to time in the breeding, yields
the final i's and u's. have not, however, this semi-
nasal sound and I am unable to give even
general rules as to its use.

The sound has been produced by a careless
articulation of final i and u. In the production
of the pure vowels i and u, nearly all the
muscles in the front of the mouth are brought
into action whereas in the production of this semi-
nasal sound, there is only a slight tension of a
few of the muscles between the mouth and the
nasal cavity. The origin of this sound is,
therefore due to the law of least action.

There appears to be a corresponding nasal
sound in similar cases, but I have occurred
in the Burgundian dialect, which I find denoted
by the addition of a final monophthong u in the
verses Bourguignons of Bernard de la Monnoye

venun (for venu p. 4); rainin (for renni p. 6);
renun: comun (p. 16). In the first fifty pages
of this work these are the only words in which
I find this morgane final nasal.

The consonants

The Labials B.

(a) Initial b. remains

bonum → bunē, blasphemare > blāni.

So also in all cases in O.Pie.: - bain (acc. et. n. 3.14); blæmē (Par. 168:8)

By the addition of the prosthesis h, the b may
lose its initial place, cf. ébālōn̄s (= Fr. balance)

(b) Intervocalic b, becomes the voiced labial v

debere > douer; libernum > iver;
caballum > gvo.

So also in O.Pie. devis (acc. et. n. 10.41);

eeval (anc. étr. 2, 8, 19)

In Gébacaraine the intervocalic z becomes g in the patois, while it remains in French gibecière. In Caen it is gibecier, and the same form is found in a document quoted by Guérard¹ : - "un fusil de maître avec la gibecière" - inventaire à Caen 1774.

In gabelinum the g is changed to the voiced velar g in Caen - goghe. A similar change is found in the name of a village seven kilometers north-east of Corbie, where Rihemont, is pronounced by the peasants - Rigné.

(C) g before e becomes the voiced labial v
librum > liv.; labrum > lev.,
siperum > puer; liberare > livri.

This change had already taken place in the O. Fr.

¹ Glossaire p. 2. s. v.

livere (Mis. 188.7; Car. 186.4); liere (Car. et mis. 40.22);
leve (24.19)

(d) Treatment of b.

abbatem > abé; sabbati + diem > sām̄di

This is reduced in all cases to b, as was generally the case in the O. Fr. texts: abé (Car. 103.1). In sām̄di, the same change has taken place as in French

(e) b before a dental falls as in French.

cubitum > cök̄; debitare > duti;
So also in O. Fr. dante (Car. 33.9; Mis 107.8);
dante (Mis 46.12)

(f) b before s falls.

obsecuum > oskär; abstine > astn̄ie.

1. See note on reduction of double consonants. p

obstination > ostiné

This also fell in all cases in O.Rie. in ostenir (Car. 214.6; Mis. 10.4; 182.11); oscur (Mis. 86.2; Car. 182.8); oscurté (Mis. 207.8).

Previous to the sixteenth century, it had fallen also in the French in this case, but was restored both in spelling and pronunciation¹ through the learned influences of that time. The patois has kept the older sound, and the learned influence does not appear in it.

(g) b before n falls.

Galbinum > gân; and its derivative gânie. It had already fallen before the time of the Roland, fâne (CXII)

(h) b after m, falls.

¹ Darmesteter et Hatzfeld - Le Siècle en France p. 222.

- 5

gambane > gám-; and its derivative ágámi (enjambe); umbrane > om-; tumbare > tómí. The b was retained in this case in O. Fr.:- onbre (Aue et Nie. 12.32); ganbe (Aue et Nie. 2.11)

(2) b after other consonants remains.

leubane > leb-; albane > ab-.

It also remained in O. Fr.; aubee (Car. 74.6); berberugier (Aue et Nie. 38.15); aubene (id. 9.7).

(3) b + god becomes the voiceless guttural \mathfrak{g}
rubuum > rug-; rabuum > rág-;
caveuum > kóz-; tibuum > tíz-.

This change probably took place in the following manner:- A parasitic d arose between the b and the god, giving b dj; then the labial fell, as it always does before a dental, giving dj, which became \mathfrak{g} , through the same process of change by which the dj in diuum etc. became \mathfrak{g} .

¹ See full treatment of this p 209

This was already $\frac{3}{2}$ in the o. Pie; rage (Met. 61, 12);
rouge (Car. 30, 11; 52, 4)

(ii) In the patois zo_6 was inserted between the
Latin combination l-m.

simulare > Sani; m+simul > ensé.

"Et vo feré sianan, qu'o ne m' avé touqué" (Sinté du
Cél. Mar. 40); "Zu n' trées pouant peindant
deux jours et fièvre" (Cinon. Sat. II. 42)

The non-insertion of this 6_6 is the general rule in
o. Pie. Lists¹; although examples are found, no
doubt due to the influence of the dialects of the
de France, and Normandy, in which it is interpolated
avant (Aue et Mie. 21, 1); but ensamble (14, 23);

¹ "die Hülfslaute d und 6, welche im romanischen
und französischen zwischen gewissen Konsonantrgruppen
(l-r, n-r, m-l) zu entstehen pflegen, fehlen im
Picardischen" - Aue et Mie. p. 58.

Santblait (32.19; 36.6) rusante (Mis. 122.7);
sander (Mis. 209.10); santonche (Car. 41.2);
rusante (Chw. as II Esp. 678); santes (id. 3785);
lumentent (8064)

(1) The final Latin combination ē + vowel + l.

The result of this combination varied in the O. Pic. texts. For the Auriel Tobler thinks the ē of the sing. had the value u, and placed this in his texts: canitavles (Auriel 63); veritavles (id. 64); dompnavles (id. 321); gardonnaules (id. 322). In the Que et mie, and the Rec. de Moll, it is found as ē :- contefable (Que et mie. 41.24); estable (id. 20.28); espiritable (37.14); amiable (Car. 127.1); amirable (id. 127.2); caritable (id. 127.4). In the Ch. du Vermand, it is found with u:- vaiangles (xxii.42); taillaule (xxxvii.20). Tobler¹ thinks this ē had the sound of u for all O. Picard texts, and in

¹ Tobler - Auriel. - XXXII

his view he is supported by Neumann¹. In the Char. du Poitou, Raynaud finds u also, and pronounces it v, and is supported by G. Paris,² who says this is a case in which a careful comparison with the present patois would be of great use. In the present patois of Caen, b + vowel + l gives two results: b & v. The pronunciation of the older people is always Tau. (tabulau), and the Loue has been used extensively, and the younger people pronounce it Tah. It is evident from this, that, at no very remote period, the pronunciation of this termination was always v.

In the Suite du Cél. Mar. I find the rhyme Tave: rave (629); These words are also written with a v in Canion: Tave (I. II. 17); rave (I. II. 18);

¹ Neumann - Laut und Flexionslehre im Altfran. p. 116.

² Romania II. 617.

éthane (L. 7, 7). This h does not become v in any part of the tongue. The evidence of the modern fatais, seems therefore, so far as the tongue is concerned, to confirm the opinion of Tobler, Neumann, Raynaud, and G. Paris, that the v of the orth. M.L.S. had the sound of v.

Treatment of P.

(a) Initial p before vowels remains as in O.Pie.

populum > pōp; punctum > pucē;
parabolam > parol;

O.Pie.:- point (ave ab nie 20.31); parole (id. 8.36);
bir (Car. 36.1); biour (Mus. 11.12)

(b) Initial p before a consonant remains as in O.Pie.

placere > placi; probare > pruvi;
prehendere > pre.

O.Pie:- planer (Car. 82.9); prendre (Mus 82.8);

bris (Mus. 78.5); prime (Aue et Nie. 18.6); plaine (id. 10.78)

From the word actit, which existed in O.Pie. (Aue et Nie. 1.3; 4.26; Car. 6.2; Mus. 1.11), the form potjot was formed in modern Pie¹; at a time when the x between consonants had not yet fallen. When this x fell, it became ptjot, but as p before t always falls in the patois of Picardy, as in French², this has become tjot in the patois of to-day. The form ptjot is still heard in the patois of Villers-Baetonneux.

(d). Interrogative p. becomes the voiced labial v, as
sapere > savoir; ripam > liv
apertum > over.

So also in O.Pie. :- savons (Aue et Nie. 39.23.).

¹ Cf. Corblet - Glossaire - §. V.

² Selwane - Grammatik p. 45-

vine (id. 28.8); cancrea (Mis. 38.7); couvert (Mis. 95.7) devaire (Ariel 1.). In the Misericorde, however, the form dessabouee occurs, rhyming with labouee (Mis. 159.1). But in the same text the form dessavouee (Mis. 206.1) is found. The form with b is an archaism. In order that b should become v it was necessary for it to pass through the intermediate stage b, and this form shows that stage.

(ii) f before r becomes the voiced labial v as in French.

spiferum > preu; sepenane > seuri,
co+operire > kevri

This change had already taken place before the time of the O. Fr. texts: - seurer (Mis. 185.6); couvert (id 95.7)

(ii) Intervocalic ff is reduced to f as in O. Fr.

stuppam > stup; capponem > kapf;
cappellam > kapel

0. Pie.: - capelir (Mus. 195.9); caperon (Car. 69.8;
109.6); capel (Car. 118.12); apeleu (ane et me. 4.3)

(f) \emptyset before a dental is assimilated to the dental as in French, and then a reduction to a single dental takes place:

accipitare > akati; ruptam > rut;
tepidum > tjed

0. Pie.: - aceater (ane et me. 2.29; 3.10); rade (Car.
87.7; Mus. 175.4).

This combination has developed in the following way: - pt (or pd) > bt > tt = t.

(g) \emptyset before s falls as in French.

metipsimum > men; scripsi > ekrot;
capsam > kas.

¹ See note on the reduction of double consonants in 0. Pie. p

do also in o. Pie. : - meisme (Aue et Pie. 48; 6. 144)
casse (Par. 70.3; Mis. 96.2) ; escrist (Mis. 236.8)

(2) Final ϕ after a liquid falls as in French.
campum > kā ; calpum > kō ; corpus >
kor .

The ϕ is found in o. Pie. in camp (Aue et Pie. 26.22),
coup (Mis. 108.2) , except in corpus where it
falls before the dental s , - cors (Aue et Pie. 2.11)
Till the sixteenth century this final ϕ was still
pronounced in French but from that time the
tendency to unite the terminations -ap , -op , -ep ,
-coup , -amp , in rhyme with the terminations -at ,
-a , -é , -et , -ot ; -aut , -ant , began¹

¹ Thunat - De la Prononciation française Vol II . p. 121.

Treatment of V.

(a) Initial v remains as in French.

videre > vir; vivere > viv; valere > valuer; vitrum > vit.

O. Fr. :- voie (Aniel. 33); vérité (id. 39);
valurent (Rich. li Biaus 12); viesteure (id. 168).

In the patois vinivum has become grinö.
 This form is given by Corblet,¹ but, in all the O. Fr. glossaries, the word is given with an initial v.
 It has also preserved the initial v in those dialects surrounding the Picard :- Norm. velinö; Wall.

Vilmö. I do not know of a like change of initial v-n to gr in any other word, and think that this change cannot possibly be a purely phonetic development. The change is probably due to a crossing, in the mind of the peasant, of the old form veninö, with grinäs. The grinäs

¹ glossaire - s. v.

caused by the meeting of what was venimō,
 caused a crossing between the word denoting
 the result, and the word denoting the cause.
 Examples of similar crossing in French are:
fallacie, onesté, tiens.

(6) Inter vocalic Y remains as in French.

vivat > viv; levat > iōv; levare > lvi;
devenire > dvnir;

OFr.: devinent (anc. et. Nic. 34.16); lveer (id. 2.30); vivier (Car. 104.7); viveche (Car. 112.4)
 In certain cases it disappears as in French:-
vivenda > vfan*. Here it has disappeared through
 dissimilation. In this word it had already fallen
 in OFr.: viande (Mis. 20.10).

In pōr, which G. Paul² derives from pavoreu,
 the dental labial Y was assimilated to the

¹ Such is in Gröber's Grundriss I. 629. ² Panorama X. 46.

The labial vowel on each side of it, and became the labial vowel ü. This ü was afterwards fused with the following c¹.

In Pavoneum, which has become pā a similar change has taken place: pavoneum > pauon > paoon > paon > pā.

Chalivarium, or according to some, Chalybarium, has given Kāribāi in the patois.

Lithré (S.V.) says the word is unknown in O.Fr. before the fourteenth century, and all the examples he gives after that time have a v, — chalivare, or charivare. Lebel² gives for the O.Fr. carbare, and chalivale. The forms chalivari, or chanivare, might come from either of the two Latin types given above. The form Kāribāi would indicate that it is a word

¹ G. Paris - Romania x. 46.

² Lebelmaire rhym. S.V.

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of learned origin from a type Chalybarium. It may be that the original form in French was Charibari, and that the termination bari has been changed to vari after the analogy of other popular expressions denoting noise, such as: - Laurvari, baulevari, but that the original form has been kept in the patois of Caen. But the insufficient material given in the glossaries renders it impossible to say positively what the original form was.

(c) v before r, l, ʃ, ʒ remains as in French.
vivere > viv; salvare > sovi.

D.Pie.: - vivre (Car. 4.3); sauver (Mie 78.7)

(d) v before a dental or dental nasal falls as in French. vivit > vi'; civitatem > sité; juvenem > ʃon: D.Pie. cité (Auech Mie 17.19); In, juvenem, however, the v was still

retained at the time of the R. de Mail. : joüene
(Mis 218,1; 219,5)

(2) final v.

ovum > ü; bovum > ü; novum > ü;
vivum > vif; nervum > nerf;
serum - serf.

After a diphthongue it falls, and in other cases it becomes the voiceless labial f.

After a diphthongue it became mute about the middle of the twelfth century¹, but it still continued to be written in all books.

uef (Auc. et Nic. 10,7; 22,17); uef (Car. 146,4); before the s of the nominative case, however, it was dropped in all cases.

In O. Fr., as in O. Fr. all final voiced consonants became voiceless.

¹ Gröber in Zeits. für Rom. Ph. II. 461.

(D) Words of Germanic origin which had an initial w in German.

Oldie - wastjan > wati; M.H.G. wastel > wätfö; O.H.G. warten > wardi; O.H.G. wäg > wag.

The process of bi-lingual crossing has taken place in these words. The initial part of these words is not taken from the latinised form of the germanic original, but the germanic initial is kept and the rest of the word comes from a latinised base.

The same has taken place in these words in French, but, while the Picard has kept the germanic w the French has changed it in accordance with French phonetic laws.

Other examples in French of bi-lingual crossing are:- hant, which owes the h to german influence,

¹ Such lies in Bücher's Grammatik I. 630

also Lalaigne¹.

This initial w is found in the Ch. du Vermeaud.

wafe (xxvi. 5); warandice (II. 19); warpie (III. 9);
werpient. (VIII. 5); willame (xxxix. 8).

In the Wallonian these words have been treated in the same way as in Picard: - water,
watian, wander², wack, wafé, wafeur,
widé³, wéri, wazò⁴.

In Caen o.t.h. wat has given gé. In this case the French word has been adopted into the patois.

In the patois there are two words in which the initial w is not due to German influence, but it comes from initial vu of the o.t.Pic; these are wid, and widi, which in o.t.Pic.
were vuit (Can. 10. 4); and vuidier (Can. 186. 2).

¹ Sehrer in Gröber's Grund. I. 630.

² Vermeusse -
siet. du Patis-Wall. 54.

³ Forier - siet - Lièg -
franc. 5. V.

⁴ Hornig - Zeits. für Rom. Ph. IX. 494.

These forms were derived by Storm¹ directly from videns, and viduare. But, besides the difficulty arising from the change of meaning, the inflexional de would fall. For these reasons Schnehardt² does not accept Storm's originals, and gives the bases as *voctum, and *voctare from older forms *voctus, *vacuitum, *vacitare, *vacuitare. Thousen³ also considers these forms as the originals, and later, Flechia⁴ came to the same conclusion independently of either of his predecessors. Accepting these as the bases, the present pe form of Czech is derived in the following way :- voctum > voctum > voctu > voctu > uvidu > uvid > wid.

¹. Romania II. p. 327

². Romania IV. 286.

³. Romania IV. 287 et seqqutes.

⁴. Archivio Glottologico Italiano II. p. 370.

In Caen the Gothic balvavēsi has become mauvé. According to Sieg² this has developed as follows: the corresponding adjective must have been balvavēsi > balvesi > balvais, and by the change of b to m through crossing with male, = malvais. Then the u was vocalized to u giving mauvais, — the form in French. This far the Caen form has developed in the same way. Before the u united with the a to form the diphthongue œ, the v was assimilated to the u giving mauvé = mauvé.

¹ I give the original suggested by Sieg as the question still remains in status quo, this origin neither being accepted nor replaced by a better suggestion.

² Wörterbuch. S. V.

Treatment of f.

(a) Initial f. remains as in French.

florē → flōrē; fūmē → fūmē;

fidēmē → fūdē; fācēmē → fūcē;

foemīnāmē → fēmē; fortēmē → fōrē.

Ex.: fēmē (anc et sic. 2.33); fācē (2.32);
fōrē (2.9); fūst (Aniel 49); fīl (id. 126); fāus (id. 130)

In certain cases initial f. is changed to bī.

1. In the 1st and second person plural of the present indicative of fācē: bīzō, bīzī.

2. In the whole of the imperfect indicative of the same verb: bīzūé, bīzūi, bīzūem,
bīzūet, bīzūet

3. In the 1st and 2nd plural of the present subj. of the same verb: bīzōnū, bīzēsū,

4. In the present participle bīzā.

5. fāctātōremē → bīzō.

An example of this change is found in Paillard's

Lettres picardes¹ : "n'lein bezoit que rire". This transformation is not found in Aragon, but occurs in the Evangile selon St Math. : "Bzé donk pénitins konn i feu" (3.8). In the Cél. Mar. these forms with initial b are not found, but they retain the f :- Fezain (47). In all earlier Picard texts the initial f remains:

It thus appears that initial f is changed to b, only when it is followed by z. This change is due to physiological causes, and the principle of least exertion. When f is sounded, the upper teeth rest on the lower lip, and, in order to pronounce z after f, it is necessary to draw the upper teeth back, and rest them on the lower ones. But this very position, with the lips closed, is the very one they occupy when on the point of pronouncing bz.

¹ Cited by Coblet - Glossaire p. 78

Hence the position of the lips and teeth, when at rest, is the one necessary for the production of β , whereas the production of f requires the considerable action of the muscles in the mouth, before shown.

(b) In heterocatic f remains, as in French.

defendere > défend; elephantem > éléphant

o. Pic. defendre (Mis. 6. 1.; 102, 12); defier (Car. 1868)

(c) f after n and r remains, as in French,

infantem > enfant; infernum > enfer;

infimum > enferm; serfum > parfum.

o. Pic. :- enfant (anc. et me. 11. 2); enferm (Car. 65. 6);

parfum (id. 204, 11); parfait (id. 57, 12)

Die dentals

Treatment of d.

(a) Initial d remains as in French.

denter > de ; digitum > dui ;

donnare > doni ;

So also in opie. :- doit (Anel 2) ; desvoie (ib. 34)

dame (Anel etnies. 6.36) ; cient doi (Car. 92.8)

(b) Intervocalic d falls as in French.

fidare > fifi ; nudare > nöi ;

redere > vir ; laudare > lui

This so-called dental first became §, and in the first half of the twelfth century this sound was gradually lost¹. It had fallen in Picard before the time of the Rechts de Maillyens (1180+), from this work Van Hamel finds it kept only in one case - sudor (Car.

¹ See this in Bröders Summarios I 581.

238.10), beside suour (Par. 80.8). He considers the shift of place a mark of learned origin. In all later Picard texts 'd' has everywhere fallen.

(C) Final d falls as in French.

nudum > nö; pedem > pji'; Caudam > cö; cadet ⁱⁿ > é¹

before falling, the raised dental final became the voiceless dental, z, and this fell about the same time as the original ^{2,3} z. It fell at the same time as intervoallic d - in the first half of the twelfth century.⁴

(D) Intervoallic dr.

credere > crever; claudere > klor;

¹ Van Hamel - Reclues de Neelius, CXXXIX, ² Johannes Grauermatth. p 46. ³ See treatment of original final z. p - ⁴ Suchier in Brokers Lundrius I. 581

videre + laboro > vidé; ridere > rir;
admetre > arier.

The dental was assimilated to the r, giving rr¹. In the patois, in all cases, the two rr's have coalesced in raund, and have become r. In the flexis the writing varies between r and rr, except for the future tense where rr is invariable except in rire². In the Opie texts the same is the result; — in the future the rr is kept: verres (Anc et Né, 6.42); verrois (id. 14,10); verra (id. 4,16); verrai (Par 139,9; 140,2), while in other cases the writing varies between r and rr: — arrière (Mis 172,11); deriere (Anc et Né 12,16; 30,3); desirer (Anc et Né 39,36); enclome (id. 12,28); uiront (aniel 211).

1. Corneu - Romania III, 367

2. id.

(e) In the palae of Early d is not interpolated between l & r, and n and t.

tinoris + diem > wēndi; malore > mōl;

zenerum > ter; zener + labeo > tāré;

renire + labeo > vāré; valere + labeo > vōré.

This is characteristic also of the O. Fr. and distinguishes it from the Norman and French.
vauait (anc. et Nie. 1.1); vauués (id. 32.8);
vaurait (id. 33.10); vauuont (Ch. du Verne. XXII. 41);
lēuuent (XII. 16); teuail (id. XXIX. 14); lēu...
 (Alic 134.9); lēuere (Can. 4.11);

(f) d before consonants is assimilated to the consonant as in French, and these falls. ad + portare > aporté,
ad + captere > ákate; advenire > ávnié.

The assimilated element had already fallen in O. Fr.: menir (Can. 47.2; 116.1.9); metter

¹ Luckies - Anc. et Nie. p. 8.8.

(Cœ. 230,3; Alis. 108,8); uporber (Alis. 138,3);
aventure (cœ. et Nie. 20,24); aval (id. 12,18).

(y) Final d after or. falls.

puendere > puen; nuendum > nuē;
nuendum > fē;

in l or st kept in l (8,10). Rest: aut,
where final d became z; - puent (cœ. et Nie.
9,11); puendre (11,10); mont (id. 6,9,13); and
also monde (id. 22,34; 24,83); fondue (Cœ.
188,5)

(y) d after r is kept as in Greek.

taudare > taudi; per+donare > pāndoni;
A.H.G. wānken > wānde.

A.Pie.: - bordar (cœ. et Nie. 7,18); corda (id.
12,14); zander (Cœ. 15,3,2); gander (Alis. 68,1).

In the case of perdieem > pentui,

The d was become the voiceless consonant t.

The same change has also taken place in
Walloonian — pétui¹, pétro. The form pétui
is cited by Létié from the D.L. of the thirteenth
century.

The change of d to t had, therefore taken place
at a time when final t in the cluster tr was
still sounded, and the change is due to the
analogy of other words ending in tre e.g.
t. tre mentre; ... in tr — a combination much
more common than dr.

Treatment of t.

(a) Initial t remains as in French.

tenere > tenir; terane > ter,

tardare > tardi; telare > tel

Spec: - terre (Can. 26.9); tens (Mls 171.1); tant
(Ariol 366); tolu (id. 3043).

In tremere, the initial cluster tr has been

¹ Tonie - dict. Liège - France s.v. ² dict. France s.v.

changed to -ke as in French.

G. Parisi's remark¹ that similar changes to this take place in other languages - in Catalan and Provencal in which the forms paine, maire, cannot come from patineu & matineu, but must come from later forms paineu, maireu. He neglects to notice, however, that in Provencal, lameu does not change the 7 to 2 but has trameu. Now the change has taken place as still unexplained.

(6) In Léonorealic 7 falls, as in French.

amatum > éme; rotam > ro;
rotundum > ro; contata > hante.

This 7 first became d, then l - the vowel it had at no time of the thesis; - and this fell at the same time as original Léonorealic d. - in the first half of the twelfth century.²

¹ Romania III, 384.

² Such is in Göttingen Fundus I, 581

This had fallen in all cases before the time
of the Recueil de Wallonie (1180?) : jornées,
desavornées, raornées, rataornées (Car. 5.);
roond (Mis. 260, 9; 98, 7); entude (Pan. 610)

(c) Final t falls as in French.

natum > né; amat > éme; maritum >
mari; *pendutum > pendre.

Final t fell in French in the first half of
the twelfth century¹, and in Normandy at the
same time². In Picard, as well as in Wallonia
and Lorraine it was retained later than this
especially after é. In Rue. et Nie. it is
still preserved in jut, (14, 6, 14) although it
has fallen in entendre, (61) and serdu (24, 39).
In the Char. du Vau. (1200-1250) final t is in
a state of transition, after a consonant

¹ Suchier in Gröber's Grundriss, I, 581. ² Suchier -
Kämpfert 818. ³ Suchier - Rue. et Nie. p 18.

It is beginning to fall¹ - s'es (X1.8). It is still kept between original vowels in the endings et, iet, it, ait, ut². In the Amel³ final z is still kept after a tenuis vowel.⁴

Final z was, therefore, preserved in French till the end of the thirteenth century. — It occurred and a half later than in Norman and French. It fell first in Picard after an atonic vowel, and was kept longest after a tenuis vowel: in amaf it had fallen in the Rebus de Malines; aine (Car. 3.9); but in dechat in Amel (234).

The French words of German origin - gastrite (gastrium), and nitrate (nitratum) have been introduced into the future with the termination te has been changed to k.

¹ Neumann - Laub und Fleisch in Altpau. 102.

² id. p 103.

³ Latzen - Amel p. XXII.

— gästtich, nitrich, after the analogy of the adjectives ending in t sp. homik &c.

In the datives situm too followed the same course as other words with final t, and has become sui. It had already fallen at the time of the Nodus de Mallius: — dati (Car. 92,10; His. 133,4; 152,5).

(d) tt becomes t.

mettere > met; butticulam > butel;

mettare > met

8. Pie. :- mettre (Aue et Nie. 4,21,23); mettant (id. 26,22)

eat (Car. 230,7); coubatre (His. 169,18); crete (Car. 137,11)

(e) t after consonants remains as in French.

ruptam > ret; pantire > partir;

portam > port; dietam > dit;

contare > lanti.

8. Pie. :- paistre, id. 20; droitum (id. 21);

parte (Aue et Nie. 2,4); pantir (id. 10,11);

plantir (id. 14,22); tainture (His. 87,10).

With a few 2 positions of flexible
s was always indicated by g, this
transcription is not favored in o.Pie.
In one at the, the letter g does not occur,
and ts is always indicated by s — partes
(10.83); urgens (2.8); biuntés (3.16) &c.

The majority of rhymes in the Chor. a. II Esp. show a separation between 2 and 3.

In the Arniel 3 is not found, and, although
in the Ch. de Beau 2 is generally represented
by 3, 3 is occasionally found, aviez
(XLII.6); delez (V.28). But in this work
3 has the value of voiced 2, as is shown
by the transcriptions: couzines (XLV.19); cop
(XLII.8); devizee (V.20); mizel (V.38).

1. *Yucca* - Cleve. as II Esp. LIII.

2. id.

The Sublauts

S

(a) initial s remains as in Greek.

sapone > λάνυν; sanum > σάτη;

solum > σόλη; seum > σόρη.

; optio; - zavait (Aniel 243); scis (id. 24);
sonne (Rich. li Beaus. 40); sirez (id. 81)

* Suctus has become Σύκτη, although I do not find the word in any O. Gr. text, the form must have been, following the analogy of other similar words, - suehier. The change of the initial s to ſ is due to the assimilating influence of the ſ, the second syllable on the first. A similar influence has taken place in Greek στρεχεια.

* toriciam has given σορτία. The second s has had the assimilating influence on the first in the same way as in Σύκτη.

* Toricean > Σύκτη. The initial s has been changed to ſ from analogy with σορτία.

Initial sp, sc, & st are treated no in French
 * stelum > étivel; spinae > épin,
sentum > éku.

The earliest example in French of the impure s is spede (Eulalia 22) in which the prosthetic s had not yet developed. By the time of the atresis, however, it had developed both after a vowel and consonant. Suchier¹ says this s developed from the passage of the s into the next syllable, and that it originally had the sound of i or a sound near i.

In all the Old French texts this prosthetic s is always found: - escole (Hls. 28.1); eserine (id. 236.8); espoer (Car. 30.8), estelle (Ch. de Vene. IV. 10); estoire (anc. atrie. 24.87).

In the development of this prosthetic s the patois of Caen has gone farther than the French, for it has developed it in estatoe (statae) -

¹ Fröhlichs Compendium I. 879.

a word of late introduction into the language.
This prosthetic vowel has fallen in some parts
of the wallonian and Lorraine bordering on
German territory."

(6) deutero-ealitic S remains voiced S^(=z) in French.

causare > pogi; misam > miz;
causam > köz

Fr. poer (Car. 97.2); present (Mus. 110.8)
deuse (Aue. et Nie. 5.3); mise (id. 5.1).

In the Ch. de Ven, however, this sound is
sometimes represented by z; — coge (XLI. 8);
früze (V. 5.8); roze (XXVII. 3).

(C) Final S falls, as in French.

misum > mœ; risum > ri;
sponsum = spu .

In the sixteenth century final s was
always pronounced before a vowel or
"such as in Enrich's Grammatica I. 579

before a pause¹. For its pronunciation in other cases Palsgrave² gives the following rule: "When a word ends in two consonants, of which the first is neither m, n, nor r, the first consonant is mute and the second is pronounced: coups, loups are pronounced koɔ̃, luɔ̃.

2. When a word ends in three consonants of which the first is m, n, or r, the second is mute, and the first and last are pronounced: whirls, carps are pronounced viʃtɔ̃, kaʁɔ̃.

3. When a word ends in three consonants of which the first is neither m, n, nor r, the two first are mute and the last is pronounced: faictz is pronounced feɛ̃.

¹ Remarque sur l'anglais - Le Diz. Litt. a fr. p. 217.

² Palsgrave - Elainement de la Langue française pp. 24-25

From the commencement of the seventeenth century final s was mute after c, f, l, t.¹ There are some words, however, in which final s had fallen much earlier. Daumetier² finds that in the two Hebrew-French MSS of the Vatican, at the end of the thirteenth century, final s had fallen in les, ces, ties, and also in sans, vers, nos.

(d) s before a consonant. falls as in French.
vestine > voter; justare > justi;
castellum > castjö; bestia > bet.

The fall of this s began in the twelfth century.³ There are already cases in the Oxford Psalter in which this s is mute⁴, and Förster thinks it first fell before l and n, but in other combinations continued to be pronounced.

¹ Gouffé - De la Pron. frang. II. 66. ² Romania III. 473 +.

³ Sweden in Enöö's Lundensis I. 586. ⁴ Förster - Ched as in Eap. ZI. note.

daher thue this work.

In the Recl. de Ballades s before a consonant is beginning to disappear. It has become mute before m in the lineation - is me². In this work s is generally pronounced before t. Beside strophes in - oist, (Mis'73). There are some in - ait the lineations - esté, esté, - éte, - les, - aust, - au te, - aut, - auté are found. The Carité has two strophes in - ist, and three in - it. The Misere has six strophes in - ist, and ten in - it.

There is also a beginning of the suppression of s before m, before t, in the accented syllable after i, in the atonic syllable after e³.

In the Chivaliers as II Esp. s is mute before a consonant.⁴

¹ Fürster - Chw. as II Esp. 21.

² Van Haelen - Rec. de

Holl. CXLIII.

³ id.

⁴ Fürster - Chw. as II Esp. 21

Neumann thinks "d" because more common at
least in Picard than in the Norman texts from
which Lörster draws his conclusions, but thinks
"d" was written in the Ch. de Bernaud, of the first
half of the thirteenth century, although it was
still written. A strong proof of this is that
he finds it interpolated where it has no
etymological justification¹.

In the Hebrew-French MSS. of the Valencien,
end of the thirteenth century, § has fallen
everywhere before a consonant².

Replieare has become respliki in the patois,
and the name is resplik. In both these
words the § has been omitted from analogy
with words of learned origin in which §
before a consonant is kept. cf. respiri de
Rheumatismum has become rümäthik.

¹ Neumann - Laut und Lexion letere in alffran. p
105 sheep, ² Daumestier - Romania II. 473

the termination has been changed after the analogy of the names of other diseases ending in ik e.g. fractuk, holuk &c.

(e) Vowel + ss + vowel. This combination gives voiceless s as in French.

missau > mes; passare > passi;
massam > mas.

In OFR. the ss is found :- massac (Par. 70.6);
message (id. 89.3); messoner (Par. 131.6);
messe (Lire et Rie. 29.11); passer (id. 11.22.)

(f) z is treated in the same way as in French.

zelazum > zilee

(a) Initial n becomes ø in French.

nœcum > œci; nomen > nō;

nudum > nō

Of course, nasal (Aue. et Nic. 10, 26); nain (id. 12, 28);

nobille (Rich. li B, 22); nouvello (id. 92).

In nominae > lœuci, the initial n has become l. So also in numerum > luméro.

The same change has taken place in Wallonia: lœurné, lœumee². The change of l to n is

seen in Fr. & nœcum. Here the change is due to dissimilation³. The change from n to l in the interior of the word occurs in Fr.

fonfalon, and orphelin.

Romanicus says the change of n to l in the words lœuci and luméro is very old, and

¹ Foris - dieit. dièg. - Frans. s. v. ² Léjant - dieit. du

Wallon de Mons. ³ Burje - Romanic 11. 383. ³ Léonard. 38.

cités" from a text of the thirteenth century: -
"Et les II autres gestes droi as loumme
m'orés" - Trouvères du Nord.

In Caen, scholane normale has become
écol lomme. The change here is brought
about by assimilation of the n to the
preceding l. It is probable that the
change of n to l in the two words
lomme, and lénème has been brought about
in a similar manner, - by the frequent
occurrence of a word ending in l before
these words.

(6) Interrogative n remains as in French.

minare > nni ; sanare > sn ;
nnire > nnir ; plename > pln.

Fr. :- domaine (Car. 122, 3) ; denier (id 86, 6);
tenir (Car. 132, 1) ; plenier (Car. et Nie. 8, 9).

¹ Glossaire - s. v. - loumme.

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in orphanum > orfold, the n is changed to l through the principle of dissimilation as in French.

(c) n before r.

tenetum > ter; minet + habeo > maré;
tenet + habeo > tané; minet + habeo >
mare; ad + minet + habeo > amare.

The n is assimilated to the r giving te which coalesces in sound to r.

Neumann cites a case from the Ch. du Verne. in which this assimilation had taken place, — terroiet (XXXIX, 14). So also in the Rec. de Mall. terrai (Par. 149, 12). But generally the assimilation had not taken place:

tenront (Ch. du Verne. XL1, 16); tenrout (id. XLII, 7);
tenrait (XXI, 9); tenroient (id. XXII, 26);
vinrent (Rec. et Nie. 27, 17); tenire (Par. 48, 4)

When the r is final it drops before assimilation takes place: — cinerent > cen;

ponere > pon.

One of the characteristics of the Picard is that d was not interpolated between n and l: tenue (Ais. 134.9); teurai (Aue. et hic. 10.85); renuai (Cler. a. II Esp. 7406); renous (id. 3978); and examples just given from the Ch. du Verne. Rarely the d is found, under the influence of the dialect of the Île de France: clendue (Ais 6.9);

(d) Final n after d falls as in French.

infernum → enfer; divnum → deun;
Hibernum → iver.

In the Brandon, and Confliktus Corfioris et animalium, this n is still retained², and in the Reinprecht there is only one case where it has fallen³ (joh; honor 58). It had, however, fallen in all cases before the end of the century, and does not appear in the

¹ Duchier - Aue. et hic. p 58.

² Duchier -

Reinprecht xx10.

³ id.

Recl. de Mall.: - four (Can 11.9);

(d) z before a labial remains.

moalane > embli; infernum > infer

8.7r. embler (aue. et nro. 6, 10; 20, 27); embler (Can. 110.9); inferm (Can. 65.6)

At the time of the Recl. de Mall. the pronunciation of m and n was the same after a nasal vowel¹. Hence embler is the same in sound as embler.

(4) m nasal. m' n' intermediate

dominatum > domaz; feminam > feu; doninam > diam; seminare > smi.

The n has been assimilated to the m giving mm = m in sound.

This assimilation had taken place by the end

¹ Van Hamel - Recl. de Mall. CXLII.

of the twelveth century, for in the *Life of Mall*, we find fame (Par. 219.10); dame (Mls 137.4). So also in the lue et me, damaſe (29.33); dame (id. 6.36); damaſel (id. 20.10); feme (id. 3.12), hence femme (id. 2.33).

(g) 21 before a dental numerus as in French
rendere > rēnd; rentum > ré;
viginta > ré; rendere > rēnd.

Opie. :- rendre (lue et me. 10.36); volente (id. 4.18);
rent (Par. 130.8); rente (id. 229.10); rendue (Mls. 186.2).

(h) 22 after any consonant except m or r numerus as in French.

juvenee > jōn; asinum > an;
salbinum > gān.

Opie. :- jonet (Par. 198.9); geüne (Mls 128.11);
gaine (Par. 49.2)

III. z in the group nz falls in French.
épouse > épuz; mansiones > mužō;
monasterium > montier (the name of a
commune just north of Avignon); pensei -
pzi and penei; Constantiaeum > kõntenšõe.
It falls in words of popular formation, but
is retained in words of learned origin. So
this rather closely belongs the two names of places
given above, and penei. In this case the
z had already fallen in old Latin, but by
recomposition and analogy the z was, at a
later time, frequently replaced¹
O. Fr.: peser (Cœn. 120.2); expous (Mls 262.8);
maisonie (id. 129.8); maison (Cœn. et Mie. 30.6);
monastier (Mls. 1876.10) - this is of popular
formation, while the name of the commune
is of learned formation.

¹ Dr. Meyer-Lüthke in Schöler's Handbuch I. 368;

(f) Interpolation of n.

macionem > mâncō ; pipionem > pēnzhō

The example of this interpolated n is cited by Du Langé¹ from the fifteenth century, —
de nōns. Examples of this are also found in French — longouste, ² engnot,
ligrande⁴, ³ engouste⁵.

Treatment of M.

(g) Initial M. remains as in French.

manum > maē ; methe > met ;

mēngi ; mīea > mi ; mansionem > mūñzō.

Ex. :- mont (Aniel 14) ; maistre (id. 19) ;
meseneaus (id. 6.8) ; mont (Aue. et Me. 6.9).

As in French, initial M too become n in mapam
> nāp. The same change too taken place in
mespilum, which in Fr. frōs nēfle. Changes
of ^{reverse} oldest kind. In the interior of the word occurs

¹ Du Langé - s.v. ² Buzge in Rom. 11. 383. ³ Guérard - noms de lieu p. 24. ⁴ id. ⁵ id.

Fr. venimeux, charme, latiniser.

In the Wallonian the original m is still retained —
mat.

In the following words initial m has been
changed to g: — misangam > begeng; mitanum +
bet > bitenbu; The O. Fr. mitaels has become
mitable, and monifle > bonif.

For this change I see no satisfactory reason.

(6) In Lorrainic m remains as in French.

camomile > camomie; camomile > camomie.

Lunanum > lunat

O. Fr. : — aine (aine. et hic. 19.11); ainevor (id. 17.16);

anor (id. 2.16); lanceifant (Can. 182.9);

Lunanite (Hic. 216.8).

(C) Final m. Its influence remains in
nasalizing the preceding vowel as in French.

meu > rip; examee > éstat;

racemum > racemé; fanem > fané

to form like this from:

in 18.80; in 18.81, it becomes re: levin (Cox 227), levin (Cox. 162,3); pain (Hib. 87.2); raisin (Aue. et Ric. 11.14).

(d) m before a dental becomes m as in French; it is partially assimilated to the dental.

sentiment > sentif; comité > komt; main + main = taunt

This partial assimilation had already taken place in 18.82, in sentien (Cox. 223.8); comte (Hib. 42.7); conte (Aue. et Ric. 2.34)

(e) m before a labial. When the labial falls, the m remains; when the labial remains, the influence of the m remains in nasalising the preceding vowel.

taubam > taim; tempelme > tempf; imprium = impriu.

To the combination vowel + mb, had, in 18.82, the same sound as vowel + mb, we find back m

and n in the same text: janus (viii. 6. 211),
tans (id. 2. 85; Par. 235. 3); tempete (Par. 130. 3);
tempore (Aris. 23. 8).

(7) The Latin item - annam. The m as assimilated
to the n, as in French, and these coalesce in
names to n. Columnae > colon; Janunnam >
Jaron

(8) m after l remains, as in French,
dormunt > dorme, arma > arm
armamentum > arm.

C. Pl. lemon (Par. 72. 2); annaeum (Aris. 93. 11);
lannaeum (Aris. 55. 2). In dormitorium, after
the fall of the ptitum vowel, the medial
element m, with the triple combination of
consonants, fell, as in French, giving dortuim.

Latin l remains as in French.

lunam → lun, lunare → lunaire, librum → livre, littera → lett.

Open laids (anc. et n. 8.38); lit (id. 6.21);
line (id. 40.22); lie (Car. 88.3); lentue (Car. 110.8)

In luscinieum → roselin, the l has become
as in French. In anc. et n. the l is still
kept: - coracinal (12.6). In the interior, and at the
end of a word, this change of l to r is common
in French: - épître, chapitre, cartre, gospel.

This change was already known in Latin¹
laticulus (mit lin.) - latus (id.) - latus (C. 1000)
= linearis (Plin.)

From luteare, a frequentative verb luttare,
was formed in the fifteenth century

¹ Cited by littoral (dict. frang. 8.8) from the thirteenth cent.

² 180, 190 - lame, LL., 1902.

of this sort. The initial \mathfrak{c} has been changed to \mathfrak{u} by the process of differentiation. Cf. a change of \mathfrak{c} to \mathfrak{u} due to the same cause in *Tri quenouille* "acid concier".

In the following words initial \mathfrak{c} is replaced by \mathfrak{f} : levu \Rightarrow jūv; levas \Rightarrow jūv; levat \Rightarrow lefāvā \Rightarrow lūv; funi, funi \Rightarrow jō-wāvē; lakinum \Rightarrow japē. The first four of these words would seem to point to the fall of the \mathfrak{c} , the \mathfrak{f} arising from the \mathfrak{c} in the dephonification of the tonic \mathfrak{c} . But the last two words show that this cannot be the case, and clearly show vocalisation. This vocalisation did not taken place in \mathfrak{d} .
 \mathfrak{d} .

In the name namponif from thi laffan, and notar, from Norse notar, the initial \mathfrak{c} has become \mathfrak{u} . The change of \mathfrak{c} to \mathfrak{u} takes

¹ Levi - Mon. II. 244. ² Levi suggests as a rock \mathfrak{c} , with free of initial \mathfrak{c} but indirect as.

placed in the niveaux (After level), and the
Tours, a dissimilation. ... & the same process
cannot have caused the change in the two words
given from the pastels.

(a) Coronelle French, French.

also coronelle fur, gabatine;
with rock water.

ie the coronelle becomes lauronel

corporal & korporans.

The forms coronels, coronal, coronel were
very frequent in the French of the sixteenth century.
Littré¹ cites the form corporans from Marot.

This is the form of the word in the pastes of Beauvais².

The form lauronel is due to the principle of
differentiation, - the l being changed to a to
differentiate it from the final nasal - l.

In korporans, The l. becomes n by being assimilated to the

¹ Littré - dict-franç s.v.

² id. s.v.

³ id. s.v.

preceding 2.

In the following words l has been changed to n through the process of differentiation: unular > ärli; calenulum > kärél; calenulae > kärkülü. The form quenulant is cited by Ritté¹ from L. Deschamps.

complicatum points kompru. The l is probably changed to n through crossing with the topic. pro. The change from l to n is extremely rare in older texts, and I find only two examples of it in those which I have examined: centrenius (cf. dusken, XXXVII, 35); Uinechollo (id. XXXV, 4).

In the following words the l has fallen without leaving any trace:

Eleemosyna > ámon; aleuria > án.

Förster¹ points out similar cases of the fall of the l before a consonant in the Chev. as II Esp.: - cleracie (10426); anvoene (10786); gues (5751); nos (8408).

¹ Chev. as II Esp. XLVIII

So also in the Ch. du Verne. :- ad (xv. 2); mus (xlii. 2); gicame (v. 18).

As l regularly falls before a consonant in the Eastern dialects, this is probably due to their influence on the Picard.

(C) Final l after a labial falls.

tablanc > taiv & tab; explicatio
söp; templicum > temp.

tave (Breton. Lat. I. II. 17); étabe (id. E II. 7); risible (id. II. 15); imposible (II. 16); tave (Bel. Mor. Lxvii. 629). In Picard texts earlier than this it is still found :- uniable; anirable, canitadie, merchiable, clurable, plorable (Car. 127); dampnavles (Aniel 321); pardonnavles (id. 322); canitarles (id. 63); veritarles (id. 64). It fell here owing to the difficulty of sounding the final liquid after a labial.

(D) l after m falls.

in + simul > ɛnsán; trunculare > tráni;
simulare > sáni.

truncus (Linné II. 42); sianan (Linné du Cél.
Mar. 40). In earlier texts it is kephi-
sander (Mls. 309, 10); sante (id. 83, 4);
euonle (id. 122, 7); sambler (aue. et hic. 32, 19).
The l falls in this case in the patterns for the same
reason as after a labial.¹

(e). Final l after k falls, for the same reason
as in the two preceding cases.

minaculum > mirák; spectaculum >
spékták; oraculum > orich.

(f) l before a consonant is vocalized,
but as in French.

fulsum = fó; scilicet = sílít;
actum > ö.; caballum > gáv;
valere + habeo > vóné

¹ See preceding page.

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The earliest example known of this vocalisation of l is found in a list dated 1024.¹ In this it is not yet vocalised²; but the process was completed during the twelfth cent.³

In the *Recueil de Moulins* it is very rarely vocalised before a consonant⁴ and in all Latin Record Lists: temporau : aus (Mis. 51); Laut : s'levant (ed. 183); fins : pies (Car. 62); aucun (Car. 39.9); aube (Car. 74.6).

(4) Transposition of l takes place in gaueulam > gauk. Here the liquid has been attracted by the labial. In l in this word, it is already transposed in the Chv. as II is p. :- branche (3022; 4143). Attraction by the preceding consonant takes place in fr. sun (p.).

¹ Such in Gröber's *Scandris* I. 582. ² 9. Paris-
it Lexis 101. ³ Such. in Gröber's *Scand.* I. 582.

⁴ Von Hanebal - Rec. de Moll. CXL.

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(4) Agglutination of l. on the part of Lauern corresponds to French le-Lauernpre. This is a case of the double use of the article. The first, aiming to its close connection with the name, became part of it, so that the popular mind lost consciousness that it was the article, and used a second one. The same takes place in French le lendemain, and le livre.

Distribution of R.

(a) Initial R remains as in French.

rahine > raſſ; rationne > réſſe; ren > riſſe.
Opt. :- repost (Aue. et Nie. 20.3); raîne (id. 2.39);
retour (Car. 94.2)

(b) Internal R remains as in French.

amour > amur; ainé, durane, lin;
cardam > écr; vôlens > voluer
Opt. :- mirabile (Aue. et Nie. 8.4); maeuvent (id. 6.31); mine (Car. 23.2); merite (Mis. 194.3).

In the patois Cathédrale of Lao became hagel, meaning a chair. Jauauoux cites many cases of caleille from the inventories of the sixteenth century. But the older form appears to have been caïere. This is cited by Jauauoux from a document of Saïeus of the fifteenth century, and is the only form found in the Recueil de Mollieus (Ms. 193.3).

Jauauoux quotes from a document of the north East of the year 1240: "une cayère et plusieurs bânes et sielles". The substitution of the l for the r in hagel is, no doubt, due to a crossing between the old form cayère and sielle, or selle (the latter being the pure Picard form) from sellam.

In Cathérinau & hâten the r has become l.

In the following cases r has been changed.

¹ For interchanges between l and r see treatise l

to l by the process of differentiation:

annus > al ; anulus > an ; annus from annus ;
annorum > anno ; fragare > fleri .

(c) re is simplified to r

terram > ter ; accusare > ac ; re .

The simplification of double consonants was the rule in o. P. E. texts¹ : - fourreure (Chev. as it Esp. 231) ; subura (id. 1028) ; tere (367) ; quere (Chev. et hic. 2.1; 6, 34). The double consonant, however, is frequent : fluvia (Chev. 58.7) ; uana (id. 26.9)

(d) Final r after a labial falls.

labrum > lev ; arboreum > ab ; librum > liv ; leporum > lo ; wivere > wiv ;
fiere (Cim. Sat. II. 42) ; ire (id. II. 43) ;
deuue (id. III. 44) .

In all the o. P. E. texts it is preserved ;

¹ Foster - Chev. as it Esp. XLVIII.

livre (Aue. et nie. 40.22); leure (id. 24.19);
vivre (Cav. 4.3); dauphe (Mls. 41.2).

The arboresc > ab, the 2 drops both before, as well as after, the labial. This is found in the dialect of the Ile de France in Rusthœuf: - "Li arbre des paillett lor branches", and in the o. Po. in Rasul de Cambrai³: - "Vait sur ces haubres ces aiseillons chanter". The 2 has also dropped in this case in marmorec > mab, - a form which is shown by the b to be an introduction from the French, and afterwards modified. The 2 before the inserted labial falls in marmorec, and in arboresc in the Wallonie. ab³, ahre⁴, mabec^{5,6}, macherie⁷. The same forms are found in the Chv. ad II esp. ahre (6180), mahre (4578).

¹ Cited by Léthu - dict. frans. s.v. arbre. ² id
³ Siegert siel. du wall. de Mons s.v. ⁴ le Grand, du pat. de Lille p. 7.
⁵ i. ⁶ Verneuse - dict. du Pat. wall. s.v. ⁷ id.

(e) Final u after a vowel falls.

sendene > send; alleame > öt;

magisterne > met; mettere > met

mait' (Cae. Sat. I. 4); entē (id. I. 28); frueine

(id. I. II. 3); freinn' (id. I. II. 19); moinde (II. 38).

It was retained in O. Fr. texts: - estendree (Cae. et
me. 18.9); bature (id. 30.4), defendee (id. 5.16);

autē (id. 2.28); aislē (Mls. 54.7); apraindree (Cae.
64.9).

In the French spoken language, ^{and} after a
voiced consonant, and especially after a
voiceless consonant, is on the point of falling,
in the pairs of body it has fallen both after
voiced and voiceless consonants.

In intē > enter, and contra > kontra, the u
has not fallen, but an u has been inserted
between the t & r, by the process of synaeresis
to render more easy the pronunciation of the
difficult final combination tr.

¹ Super - Franz. Phonetik p. 52.

(7) In greci combination with

naiseen is rest, approrene,

longuet; naiseen & not.

In this combination the z has been intercalated
between the s and r as in Greek, and final
r has fallen as usual after the diphth. ai.
The z was also inserted and the final r retained
in 8. Rie. 1- naistree (Van Daniel - 186. p. 428);
connaistree (id. p. 389).

(8) In greci & greci in masculine & marle.

The z has been changed to r. The r for
s in this word is also found in the Wallonian
dialect¹. Change of s to r occurs in the Chv. as
in Esp. :- zarle (2674); forterne (9679). This
change is also found in A. Fr.: male,
merler, varlet²; in Catalan³ - fantasma; in
Portug. - cime

¹ Termease-dict. du Fab. Wall. 2. v. marle. ² zir Vanu. 1. 237. ³ id.

This change is very frequent in Portuguese.
almoona, azemua, emonda, gleisarque,
varvassor, gbla, inolament, dimat¹.

This change must have taken place in French
before s became silent.

In French r has two sounds²: - the guttural r
made in the back of the mouth, and the lingual
r made with the point of the tongue. It is
the latter of these sounds which has been
substituted for s in these words³. This r is
widely spread in the south of France, but is
very rare in the centre and north of France⁴.

In bullet > birl, the l has either been
changed to the lingual r, - a process rendered
easy by the close physiological relation between
it & this sound, - or the r has been

¹. Paul Meyer - Rom. II. 188. ². Beyon - Franz. Phonetik
p. 370. ³. P. Meyer - Rom. II. 182. ⁴ id.

interpolated, as frequently took place in o. Ré: before a consonant: arme (aue. et n. 6.22); pertruis (Chev. a, ff Esp. 4191); armors (id. 5964); carbonniers (id. 9274); exporles (id. 1080)

(2) In firmare > firmi, the r has been attracted, by the preceding radical. R is the most movable of all consonants in the Romance languages, and is most frequently attracted by initial t & f. Cf. It. drento, frugare, stampo, trieste &c; Sp.: - erato, fruguar; Port.: fruendo; French: trebit, beuvage, fruage, liempre, troubler; O. Fr. fruuer, trouere &c; Fr. :- aprecoit (Chev. a, ff Esp. 888); lentregne (id. 3541); frument (Chaduc Vener. XII. 2); frument (Car. 168.4).

Attraction of r by the following consonant takes place in francium > franjé:

panneulam > gernal; Goth. grēdus:
gerde; lenu. braüsel > gerzöl
This also occurs in the other Rhenish languages:-
It. coccodrillo, fumotico; Sp. cocodrilo,
fumador; Prov. guerne
This attraction also takes place in the Lorraine
and Wallonian dialects:- Prov. guernege²,
perhé², peuennelle², beuvelé²; Wallonian:
guernier³

Treatment of H

It is chiefly in the initial aspirate in
onomatopætic words, and in exclamations,
that the patois of Cachy differs from the
French in its use of the aspirate.
In words of Latin origin I am not aware
of any difference between the usage of the

¹. Sieg I. 224 ². Adame - Patais Lorrain p. 42.

³. Veneresse - Dictionnaire Pat. Wall. s. v.

patais and French. The same words have dropped the initial aspirate, and the name has lost it. If pure Picard words Corblet gives fifty-eight that have an initial aspirate, but all of these are not in use in the patais of Caen.

In the following interjections there is an initial aspirate:- Hek = an exclamation expressing disgust; Hu = a cry for driving pigs; Hii = an exclamation to make horses go to the right.

And in the following onomatopædic words:-

Hænhi = to endeavor; Hulé = A species of owl, the cry of which has given it its name.

III. 1. article.

Consonants

(a). Initial C.

centum > ſt̪ : gram > ſtr̪;

concentrum > ſt̪int̪er, circum > ſk̪um.

In the development of palatal C in Picard there are two theories: ¹ Siez' considers the ſ a later development brought about by the desire for a greater separation between ſ & s. ² Jonet considers that the Picard too stopped at a stage through which the French also, at one time, passed, the French ſ is a development of this complicated ſ.

The physiological development of the sound, must have been along the following line: -
t > kj > gj $\xrightarrow{\text{to}}$ tſ > ſ. It does not seem to be doubted that both French and Picard

¹. Grammatik II. 460

². C dans les Langues romanes. p. 23.

were at one time at the stage t¹. The initial dental sound vanished from this in French at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The French never got to the stage t², or it never could have developed the sound s out of this. The Beard was already at the stage t² in the thirteenth century². In Aue. et Nie. this sound is always written with c: cerise (12.22); cerf (18.27); ceil (24.87); cité (17.19). In the Rec. de Moll. it is written ch, which, according to Sieckier³, had the sound t̪: - cheutes (Ms. 76.11); clense (id. 67.12); certain (Car. 129.11); chele (id. 8.6). In the Aue. c before e or ie from original a had the same sound as c before original ɛ or i, and this sound is sometimes represented by ch, but generally by ç.

¹. Schwann - Grammatik p. 88. ². Sieckier
Aue. et Nie. p. 61. ³ id. ⁴. Jobler - Aue. XXI.

Zobler thinks that this c had either the sound of modern Greek ch (χ), or the sound of English ch in church (tʃ¹).

The Chv. as II esp is not consistent in the transcription of this sound, as it is represented both by c and ch².

The evidence of the pathai seems to be against the theory of Janet, for according to Saeliger³, c, before ɛ or i, never had any other sound except ts in any of the D.Fr. dialects except those of the North East, and c' of the odiai and its later development ɛ was developed out of ts, and are not intermediate between that sound and k.

(b) vowel + c + ɛ or i pathai

racéum > ruez̪; reinum > vez̪

¹ Zobler - Annal XXI. ² Förster - Chv. as II esp. 2411.

³ Gräber's Grundriss I. 580.

diebat > digé; ancellum > néjjaé.

thus gives 3 as in French.

(C) sowel + e + e or i post-tonic.

deeeue > di; meeme > mei; creeme > krei; paeem > pé.

According to Sieunt¹ these two categories (B) & (C) both give the same result in o.Pie., viz.: is, but whether the s was voiced in the former case and voiceless in the latter, he does not state. He also finds cases in which e + e or i gives eh or ɛ, but these he considers words of learned origin².

A characteristic which distinguishes o.Fr. from o.Pie. lies in, that while in the former the final combination e + e or i gives ɛ, in Pie. it gives is.³

¹ Sieunt - Weber Lat. e vor e und i in Pk. p. 14 et seq.

² id. p. 18. ³ Sieunt - Aue. et Nie. p. 61.; Van Hamel Rec. de Nell. cxxxvii; Sieunt - Op. Cet. p. 16.

Daneen ¹ states "develops this as follows:

plaere > plaepere > plaicipere > plaicerē > plaizir > plaisir (= plaezir). But in this he needs to show how plaizir could develop from plaicerē. This was rejected by Horning who proposes ²:- rationem > rat̄ōneum > rathonēum > ract̄ōneum > raison (= raez̄ō)

g before e or i

(a) Initial g becomes ʒ as in French.
gelare > ʒli; gentilem > ʒɛt̄i;
gentilem > ʒenti:

This must have developed along the following line:- g > gj > dj > dʒ > ʒ. In French the dental sound was lost at the beginning of the fourteenth century ³. For the me, et me, Sielier ⁴ cannot decide whether it had the

¹ Romania III. 387. ² Geschichte des Lat. C p 10.

³ Schwanen-Bräu, p. 88. ⁴ Aue. et Hie. p. 88.

Same. $\ddot{\text{g}}$ or $\ddot{\text{g}}$.

In quinque > sensis, both the initial and medial g have become s. Diez¹ explains the Fr. genieve by the principle of dissimilation. It is probable that the same change has taken place in the patois, and that, afterwards, the initial $\ddot{\text{g}}$ was assimilated to the second s. If the form genieve could be found in an old text, it would furnish proof of this method of change. His explanation supposes that the principle of dissimilation was stronger in the old language than the principle of assimilation, and that the reverse is the case in the modern patois, — a supposition which involves too wide a field of investigation to discuss in this work.

(6) Vowel + g + e or i.

frigidum > frui; digitum > dui;

papenseum > paréjā; magistruum > met̄.
The g fell, as in French after a parasitic i
had been developed before it.

So also in O. Fr. :- fait (Aue. et hie. 6.31);
fraile (id. 7); reine (Mus. 260.1); roi (Bar. 30.1).

In the palatal religionem too become
religjō; and chirurgianum > sérürzjō.

The change of the palatal to a sibilant also
takes place in other Romance dialects. For the dialect
of Genova lithé¹ goes ciruion. In the Venetian
dialect g is the only result of g. - argento², in
the Sicilian it becomes c, ancilu³. In Spanish
it becomes s after n and r: - árden, ársilā⁴.
In Provençal the same change takes place as in
Spanish⁵. From O. Fr. niez⁶ cities eslongiet
(éloigné), and atarizié, in Wallonian it
is changed to z in azrieg⁷.

¹ scet-franç, s.v. chirurgien. ² niez - Examenatik I, 269.
³ id. ⁴ id p. 270. ⁵ Franç-Sicil, Scet-franç, s.v.

The change from $\overset{\circ}{z}$ to $\overset{\circ}{z}$ is due to physiological causes. In both cases the sound following it is a front vowel. $\overset{\circ}{z}$ is produced by closing the teeth and pressing the back part of the tongue against the back part of the hard, and the front part of the soft palate, and expiring a current of air; it is, therefore, sounded partly with organs in the back part of the mouth, and partly with those in the front of the mouth. $\overset{\circ}{z}$ is produced entirely by the action of the respiratory organs, and the action of the organs in the front of the mouth. Hence the change from $\overset{\circ}{z}$ to $\overset{\circ}{z}$ is produced by the principle of least action, — by employing simply the organs in the front of the mouth, instead of combining these with the action of those in the back part of the mouth.

iii. Post-Palatals

C w/ or a

(a) Initial C, retroic remains unchanged
cantare > kānti; calefacere > kofē;
carpentarium > kepēntji; cancellare >
panēle, caricare - kērci.

In the o. Pie. texts it remains before an a which is preserved :- caitif (ane. et nie. 1.2); cans (id. 18.);
caviax (id. 2.12); acata (id. 2.29). In this text it also retains its Latin sound (k) before an a which has become e or ie, although the transcription varies from C, qu, k, the former being the most frequent: - éconquer (26.17),
aforkent (19.7); ceval (2.19); éevalier (2.28);
baeelen (2.31). In the Aniel it always remains with the sound k². In the Chw. as II Esp. k, C, and ch are found for C+a³. In the Ree.

¹. Sieckler - ane. et nie. p. 57. ². Löbler - Aniel p. xxii.
³. Förster - Chw. as II Esp. 2111

de holl. c, before a which remains, has the same sound as c before a which has become ɛ or ɛ'. It is preserved also in the Ch. du Verne, before a or ə which has become ie² :- acat (V.2); camp (V.8); cambee (VII.3); bakelers (V.2); estevins (VI.4). In the Book of the Viol, Janet finds the Latin c represented, both by c and ch, - fifteen lines by the former, and forty by the latter³. In many other lists he finds the same variation and concludes that c was used in the original, and that the many changes to ch were due to the later scribe, and that those are the most authentic M.S. in which c is preserved⁴. In the following words initial c has become g :- caballum > gvo; catalane > gatalli;

¹. Van Haelen - Rec. de mail, cxxxii. ². Neumann - Latin metathesis before altrian, 75. ³. Janet - C dans les Langues romanes 223. ⁴. id. 229.

* caſo di cuiuæ > gäquili; cañuum > gärd; and
the verb formed from this word, — gärdi.
This change of c to g is found in the Wallonian, —
dégatouët³, gäde². Numerous cities gaute,
and gaudie from inventories of the eighteenth
century. The change of c to g has also taken place
in the other Romance languages⁴: It. Gatto, gambro,
gastigau, gatto, gattia; Sp.: - gambro, gambela,
gato, gavia; Prov.: - gat and cat, gatia. In
French initial c has become g, although not
before a in gonflei, gahelot, glas, gras.
At a medial this change of c to g is quite
frequent in all the Romance dialects⁵.

(b) c in the combination Cons. + ica. becomes
} as in French.

1. Venezia - viel; du Ital. s.v. 2. Lithuë viel; frn.
s.v. caude. 3. Glossaræ, s.v. gaude. 4. coz.
Quaenamatach L. 244. 5. cf.

vinciare > vîngi; judicare > jûgi;

planicau > grâng¹; naticau > nâz².

Förster remarks³ that this is one of the peculiarities which distinguish the Ile de France dialect from the Picard and others; while the former has as the result of this conundrification⁴ the dialect laç
g; - herchier (Chev. as II esp. 7924); encarchier (id 3953); decaherier (id. 10893). He says that the Picard, however, must have been oscillating between ⁴ & ⁵, and that this is shown by the occurrence of such words as: - sages (5008); mengainque (5344); bleques (8779). The sound ³ has become universal in the modern patois, except in the following words: calicau > tucí; conem > éff; canicau > kerclí; mercatum > mârci. There are semi-patois forms, and the change from C (=h) to

¹ Grâng - Chev. as II esp. 216.

² Nâz

c' is due to French influence. In cue. et me.
The z is still unchanged: cien (10.27);
équerier (26.17). The sound c' in these
words has developed along the following line:
h > hj > tj > ts > tš (= c')

(C) c in the combination vowel + c + final a,
where the preceding syllable has a secondary
accent: - neéane > neéí; paeare > pueéí;
implicare > implueéí; locare > lueéí.
As in French, the c fell after a parasitic i
had been developed before it.

(D) Cons. + c + final a
blancam > blank; museau > muk,
seéam > sek; baecam > buk; vaceam >
váh
5. Pic.: - alanke (Ms. 55.6); baute (Car. 75.6) Ms.
42.12).

In North Normandy also c before a remains

unchanged, as in Picard¹. Joret says the population of the district in the north of Normandy in which the Germans is said, of Norse origin. This is shown, he says, by their physiognomy, and by the etymology of the majority of the names of places in this territory². But before the Norse were established in this territory it was already inhabited by another Low German stock, — the Saxon Franks³. The language spoken by these Low Germans kept the original Indo-European guttural, while the High German tribes which peopled that part of French territory in which it became ³ changed the Indo-European guttural to a spirant⁴. In the Normandy-Picard district the Latin language was spoken by Low Germans, whose mother-tongue kept the guttural, and they kept it in their adopted language;

¹. Joret — see Datais Normaen, p. 113.

². id. p 177. ³. id. p 171 ⁴. id. p 172

in that part of France in which h became g,
high Germans, whose mother-tongue changed the
guttural to a spirant, changed it also in the
adoptive language.

g before a

(a) In the verb of remains

gamban > gām; gardinum > gārdē;
galbinum > gān.

¶ P. 2.: garde (me. et hic. 2.11; 12.28), garden (il. 4.21); garbo (Par. 105.3), gaber (id. 72.2).

The same causes which preserved Latin g
before a, must have caused the preservation
of g before a.

In gangraenau > hangren, the principle of
dissimilation has caused the change of g to h.

In Gen. grande > L. gandu > lod, and
gafrem > lef, the patois has an initial

¹¹ Joret - Le Patois Normand. p. 174.

aspirate. This is not a change of g to h, but, after the initial g, an aspirate sound was developed giving gh, and then the g dropped. It is the same process by which Latin words with initial f have developed h as the initial sound in Spanish: - f > fh > h : - ferum > hinc ; filium > hijo.

(6) Inter-vocals g.

plagam > plé ; agnum ; pépé ;
ligare > luéji ; fugam > fui .

As in French the g falls after a consonant which has been developed before it.

The Velars.

C.

(a) Initial C remains as in French.

censum > cen ; corona > kor ;
codam > kö ; cornum > kor .

In the patois initial C has become ó in

caquerre > cuir consuere > cōd; calligere > cōlier. These last developed after the analogy of words with initial c + e or i; but the latter last developed one stage further than the former: - k > ki > ī > is > īs (= c')

(6) Interno-italic velar c falls, as in French.
scenum > sōr; *placutum > plō;
focum > fōē; jocum > žōē; locum > lōē
 P.R.:- fe (Aue. et die. 4.8); seū (Car. 60.10);
seū (Mis. 208.9); iii (Car. 88.3); giu (Car. 62.4).
 In the patois aentum becomes adjue, and
aentiare > adjueizji. In these words the
 velar c must have changed first to the medial
 velar g, and this g then developed in the same
 way as g before e or i: - g > gi > dī > dī.
 In O.R.:- the medial velar is found: aguisier
 (Aue. et die. 8.8; 16.24); agu (Car. 43.7); aguisier (Mis. 133.12)

¹ For a detailed treatment of these words see p. 75

(c) cc after the accent falls

sacrum > sa²rum; seccum > se²ccum; secum > se²cum etc.
in the sec. de Null. the final guttural is still
retained: - lae (Car. 51.7; Mis. 19.3).

(d) Initial c before r or l remains, as in Fr.

crecum > krei²; credere > kreuer;

claudere > klɔ̄z; clarum > kl̄e².

In cribrum > grīb; and claudium > glōd,
it is changed to the medial guttural -g.

The same change has taken place in Fr. glas.

Place g.

(e) Initial g remains, as in French

gutture > gut; gustaine > gut; gubernare

> gouverni

Or: - galouzen (Mis. 204.2); guerrier (Car. 31.8);
gones (Car. et Mis. 13.10)

(f) Intervocalic g falls, as in French.

angurium > är; augustini > ö
 & Pl. 1. - ene. (Cor. 100.8); maleine (Cor. 13.1).

the Spirant 2

(a) Initial f remains ʃ as in French.

farm > ʃɔ̃; juvenile > ʒon; jocum > ʒɔ̃k.

In the fat is junieum has become vénis⁰. This change is due to a crossing between zénis⁰, — the form we should expect, — and vâk.

the Labials + god.

(a) b + god. - rubium > ruz⁰; tibium > lis⁰;
ambiane > hânzi; rabium > raz⁰;
*sabium > sâz⁰.

According to Lehmann this gives a double result in French: in certain cases, he says, the labial produces a parasite i before it.

¹ Grammatik p. 64

and then falls; in other cases it becomes $\frac{v}{z}$.
Mussafia¹ thinks that this $\frac{v}{z}$ has regularly become
 $\frac{v}{z}$ and that the exceptional case to be explained
by the influence of analogy. The patois has
developed exactly as the French, and the
exceptions to Mussafia's rule are the same:—In the
patois:—se, dei, l'—1st person pres. ind., and 1st
person pres. subj. of lubere. G. Paul² considers
that the form l' comes from aj for the indicative,
and aya for the subjunctive. Haering considers
the form se to be modelled on l'.

B+yod has developed along the following
line:—bij \rightarrow bz \rightarrow $\frac{v}{z}$.

⑥ B+yod becomes $\frac{v}{z}$ as in French.

Cancale: laiz; athorinez \rightarrow ibrézli;
servicelien \rightarrow servz

¹ Romania XII p. 547. ² Quoted by Mussafia—Rome.
XVIII. p. 544. ² id. p. 547.

the only exception to this in the patres is pluviae > plūo. Here the v is retained from analogy with plōvne. The form pluve¹ is cited by Littré from the D.Fr. of the thirteenth century: The v+yod has developed in a manner similar to b+yod: - vj > vj > j.

(c) p+yod becomes s² as in French.

sapientia > sāo ; adpropiare > aprossi ;
repropiare > reprossi .

The only exception to this is pēngō. The p before the yod in pipionem must have fallen through dissimilation before the transformation of p+yod to s² commenced. P+yod has developed thus: - pj > pj > pj > s².

Mussafia² considers the D.Fr. reœif an analogical form on the type reœis, and derived it from reœpo. The corresponding

¹ *Dictionnaire* s.v.

² *Roumanie* XII, p. 546

form - roui - of the patois must be explained
in the same way.

The dentals + yod.

(a) D + yod.

(1) gaudia > gue ; medium > mae ;

podium > puoe

(2) dinnum > fur ; Lordeau > orv ;

pedieau > pejoo.

This, according to Musafia¹, has given $\frac{v}{z}$ in French, but he does not explain the numerous cases in which it has not given this result.

Selvain² thinks it has developed in two different directions: in the one case, it has fallen after developing a parasitic \mathfrak{z} before it; in the other, it has developed from dj > d \mathfrak{z} > $\frac{v}{z}$. The patois also shows a development in two directions, but reasoning from analogy with the labials + yod, and \mathfrak{z} + yod, the probability

¹ Romania VIII. 544. ² Beaumarch 65

is strong that messafeus messy is correct, and that the exceptions are to be explained as due to some cause still unknown.

(6) Pictonicé $t + \text{voi}$ becomes \mathfrak{z} as in French.

rationenue \rightarrow raézé; aentiane \rightarrow adzüizé;
polonene \rightarrow puézé.

In oie, this was written with s or ss¹ which had the voiced second \mathfrak{z} : aison, aison,
aison, aison, aison. livison, livisons².
The transcriptions s and ss are found for the same word by Scient, and on the same list, thus showing that as medials s and ss had the same value in Pie. This is contrary to the opinion of Joret³ who says ss was voiceless, and s voiced as medials.

$t + \text{voi}$ has developed thus: $t\mathfrak{y} \rightarrow ts \rightarrow t\mathfrak{z} \rightarrow \mathfrak{z}$

¹ Scient - Heber Lab. C vor E und z in Pie. p. 9.

² Cited by Scient. Op. cit. pp. 128/3 ³ C dans les Lang. Rom. p. 126

(c) Prost. troue τ + vol ujor τ is ɔ + yo + a.
tractio τ traks'; platéane τ plás';
petia τ piés'; faciane τ fás';
scenitiam τ señiés'; glaciem τ glás'.

In the Ch. du Verne, remuanu¹ finds both eh and e as the product of this, and thinks these two signs had the same sound in all cases, viz.: ʒ, and that this is the universal product for Picard texts. One exception to this, however, is grat, which Sciunt failed to find as grat' in the texts examined by him², and which is not found in rhyme with ʒ in the Reeles de Mall,³ and which was wrongfully introduced as grache into the Alexes by G. Paris, into the aniel by Gobler, and into the Congiés by Raynaud. Mussafia⁴ considers that the non-occurrence of grache in Picard

¹ remuanu - Laut- und Flexionslehre im Altfran., p. 79.

² Sciunt - Heber Lat. C τ vor e und ʒ in Pk., p. 21.

³ Van Haelen - Ree. de Mall., p. CXXXII. ⁴ Romania VIII, p. 531.

shows that it is not a word of popular origin. Nussafia considers that $\mathfrak{n} + \text{yod}$ always gives the same product, whether *petane* or *pet-tanic*, and that French forms with the termination -eche come from -eja¹. This, of course, implies that the Picard forms ending in -eche for the Old *tishi*, and es for the modern *fatais*, came also from -eja. But it is bold to demand, and hazardous to admit, that all such forms as defianche (Ms. 158.10), destueche (Car. 112.12), fianche (Ms. 188.7); forche (Ms. 111.7); aguëche (Car. 194.8), came from the ending -eja.

(d) n + yod after the tonic syllable.

vineane \rightarrow ven, linane \rightarrow lin;

pinfane \rightarrow pen, planfane \rightarrow plen,

componiane \rightarrow compon.

Here there is no moulliation of the n.

¹ *Romania* VIII. p. 531

Sampain is a semi-palatal word in which the moulliation of the n has been dropped in accordance with other words in the platoe.

In the French Paul Assay¹ says z has four different sounds : - (1) z formed on border of the hard and soft palate, and without any after-sound f', as in raen. (2) The genuine palatal z formed on the hard palate - like the It. g, and Sp. ñ, as in rachi. (3) Nasalized f', as in raenf. (4) z with a weak palatalized n as in raenf.

In this last case the French language has thus reached the point where moulliation has almost disappeared. In the post-tonic position the patois of rachi has reached the point where it has entirely disappeared.

This had not taken place at the time of the Célebre mariage, for, in it, the moulliation is

¹ Phon. Stud. I. 37 ff. - cited by Beyer-Fran. Phon. p 48.

indicated by gn: Rigne (3); pipe (21); vigne (22). In the Rec. de Mall. n is always separated in rhyme from n', both in mass. and few. rhymes. To pretourie, however, they are found in the same rhyme in: metaignier; grenier (Par. 210). Instead of n', n is found in desclaine in the chev. as II Esp. (1461), and n' for n in the same text in digner (1587).

(6) Pretourie n + yod; becomes n' as in French.

* lineaticum > linâz; unionem > ouñô

(7) As in French n + yod in the post-tourie syllable has had a double development.

extraneum > étrâng; linum > lénç;
franeum > grâng.

L + yod

(a) Post-tonic l + yod.

battalia > båtel; folia > förl; dolium > dörl; consilium > könsel; vestalia > vestel.

(b) l in the termination -ieulum :- soliculum > solel; paniculum > parel; oriculum > uercel

(c) Post-tonic ll between vowels

bilat > brel, angulare > ängel,
molliat > mul;

(d) Pretonic ll between vowels.

bilatris > briti; molliatris > mylli;
bulleatus > bujli.

The exceptions to this are the infinitives ending in -ir, in which there is no moulliation of the l e.g. bulir, fáliir &c.

It thus appears that the patois of Caen has every where given up the moulliation of l after the tonic accent, but has preserved it

before the final exception, the case noted. In Picard moulleation is found just as in French, if this mode of writing may be taken as an indication of the usage: souleil (I. 53); pareil (I. 54); travailli (III. 6); ouyeuil (III. 77); pareilles (V. 53); travail (VI. 2); breuil (VI. 5); bouvreuil (VI. 6); aceueil (VI. 10).

There is no reason to believe that in D. Pic. the moulleation of l was different from the usage in French. In the Clv. or the Esp. l is represented by l': - salent (873); faloit (1531); fermal (4800); traval (10744).

In the patois of Lille there is no moulleation of l: they say¹: - marcl, koncl, famel, ändul, pätrul, buli, föl. This rule, says Le Grand, has no exception.

In the patois of Liège, however, moulleation

¹ Törslis. Clv. or II Esp. XLIX.

² Le Grand - dict. du patois de Lille, p. 6.

! It appears to take place as in French:-

batâne, firole, fiône, Loïou, Loïe, Pouïston,
(see $\mathfrak{z} = \ell$).

In the French of the sixteenth century, — especially by the grammarians of that time; ℓ was indicated by lh, and the pure liquid ℓ by l, and ll except after \mathfrak{z} .
Too many of the words which, in modern French have ℓ , the grammarians of that time give two forms one with ℓ , and the other without macillation, e.g., the following forms are cited by Thuret, on the authority of sixteenth century grammarians: — régalisent, jalir, je bouiles, j'ay bâmy, je bouilisse, je bâuls, bâlue, tailis, tailis, mailet, milet, pilon, regalardie, ralant, gentilome, piacer, prévale, medale, mestivales, croiselle, aigule, aiglon, désablier, citâelle, rouler

¹ See Thuret - De la Pron. Française II, 301 f.

servante, Troubles. From this it appears that the loss of maculation of l was very extensive in the sixteenth century, in the French. How far back the loss of maculation in the Some sees, the want of Picard grammars, and the inaccurate mode of transcription used in the lists, prevent us from ascertaining. But the Picard was probably influenced by the French of that time; and whereas, of the double forms, one with maculation, and the other without it, the former triumphed in the French, the reverse has been the case in the patois of Caen, and in this patois, this tendency was strengthened by the loss of maculation in n after the tonic accent.

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